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WRITINGS OF THE REVEREND WILLIAM TENNENT, 1740-1777

Edited by NEWTON B. JONES

Furman University

William Tennent, who was to lead the Dissenters of South Carolina in their effort to secure the disestablishment of the state church, was the third generation of a family that had emigrated from Ireland between 1716 and 1718. His forebears had become famous in the Middle Colonies for their work in evangelism and higher education. The grandfather had established the "Log College" in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to educate Presbyterian ministers. His son, William Tennent, Jr., became the pastor of a church in Freehold, New Jersey, and with other alumni of the "Log College" established the College of New Jersey, later Princeton, and served on its board of trustees.¹ William Tennent, III was born in Freehold in 1740, and attended the College of New Jersey during the presidency of the Reverend Aaron Burr. He was graduated in 1758 and received an A. M. degree from Harvard in 1763. After being ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, he preached for six months in the Hanover, Virginia, Presbytery and then became the assistant of the Reverend Moses Dickinson in Norwalk, Connecticut.²

At the age of thirty-two he came to Charles Town to become the minister of the Independent Church. Soon after his arrival he persuaded his congregation to undertake the building of a second church, telling them, "The Dissenting Interest should have an opportunity to grow; we are to be considered a frontier . . ." His career indicates that he was in agreement with a statement adopted by the congregation in 1775 which held that the main object of the church was not "to bind up their hands to any one stiff form adopted either by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Independents—as to be upon a *broad Dissenting Bottom* and to leave themselves as free as possible from all foreign Shackles . . ."³

¹ Archibald Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College* (Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 13-24, 109-159; *Dictionary of American Biography*.

² George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina* (2 vols., Columbia, 1870-1883), I, 365-366, here cited as Howe, *Presbyterian Church*. Tennent's attitude toward Great Britain was no doubt influenced by his residence in Connecticut and by the election sermons of his colleagues. See Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (New York, 1958), pp. xi-xiii, 69, 72.

³ George N. Edwards, *A History of the Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston, South Carolina* (Boston, 1947), pp. 30-34.

By 1774 the minister was taking an active part in opposition to the mother country. One of his two printed sermons,⁴ entitled *An Address, Occasioned by the Late Invasion of the Liberties of the American Colonies by the British Parliament*, dealt primarily with religious and moral questions, but it did contain the observation that:

POLITICAL Subjects do not belong to the Pulpit, but to direct to a right Improvement of the Times is the Duty of every Minister of the Gospel. An unnatural Dispute hath arisen between *Britain* and the *American Colonies*, and the Question is of no less Magnitude than whether we . . . shall be reduced to a State of the most Abject Slavery.⁵

He was less than candid when he stated in this sermon that it was beyond his "Province and Inclination to enter into the Merits of this Controversy . . .," as between June 20 and December 19, 1774, he contributed at least three and possibly seven anonymous letters to the Charles Town papers on the actions of Parliament and colonial administrators. Three of the seven letters are among the material the minister's son, Charles, copied from his father's manuscripts. Two of these appeared in the newspapers under the signature "A Carolinian," as did four other letters, probably by Tennent.⁶

⁴ David Ramsay, *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charlestown, South Carolina, From Its Origin Till the Year 1814* (Philadelphia, 1815), p. 21, states that Tennent printed nothing with his name but two sermons and the speech on the Dissenters' Petition. Here cited as Ramsay, *Independent Church*. The other sermon was *A Sermon Upon Matthew V, 23, 24* (New York, 1769).

⁵ (Philadelphia, 1774), p. 6.

⁶ Ibid.; "To the Ladies of South Carolina" appeared in *The South Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal*, Aug. 2, 1774, here cited as SCG&CJ. Letters signed "A Carolinian" appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* June 20, and 27, here cited as SCG. The same newspaper carried a letter signed "A Carolinian. No. VII" on Dec. 19. The SCG&CJ carried on Aug. 16, 23 and Sept. 6, letters signed "A Carolinian. No. III," "A Carolinian. No. IV," and "A Carolinian. No. V." I have not located "A Carolinian. No. VI." "To the Ladies of South Carolina" and the letters signed "A Carolinian. No. III" and "A Carolinian. No. IV" are among the manuscripts which Charles Tennent copied from his father's papers. The last two letters are signed "William Tennent" in Charles' copies, here cited as Tennent MSS. William Henry Drayton also used the signature "A Carolinian." Robert J. Turnbull, *Bibliography of South Carolina, 1563-1950* (5 vols., Charlottesville, 1956), I, 201, here cited as Turnbull, *Bibliography*.

The original of the Tennent manuscripts belongs to the following descendants of William Tennent: Mrs. Thomas Oliver Ott, Mrs. Simpson Zimmerman, Ellison Capers Powers, Mrs. Burwell Deas Manning, Mrs. George Raymond McElveen, Gilbert Tennent Powers, all of Columbia; William Tennent Powers, Greenville; Miss Katharine Means Park, Greenwood; Mrs. Elizabeth Heath Coleman, Macon, Georgia. A photostatic copy of the manuscript has been presented to the Society by Simpson Zimmerman, Jr., of Columbia.

William Tennent represented the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael in the First Provincial Congress which met on January 11, 1775.⁷ Here and in the General Committee he sided with Christopher Gadsden on key questions which divided those who favored strong action from the more conservative.⁸ On April 26, 1775, Tennent was appointed by the General Committee to the Committee of Intelligence, which was responsible for informing "the Inhabitants of the interior and back Parts of this Colony [of] every kind of necessary Information . . ." He was also a member of the Special Committee named on May 5 to draw up plans for the immediate security of the colony.⁹ In the second session of the First Provincial Congress Tennent served on a committee which drew up an Association pledging signers to defend the country when called by the Provincial Congress or the Continental Congress. He became involved in a heated dispute with Henry Laurens, president of the Congress, when the latter objected to a clause stating that non-signers would be held "inimical to the Liberty of the Colonies . . ." Other committees on which he served drew up plans for a military force for South Carolina and the proposal for a Council of Safety.¹⁰

Before the Second Provincial Congress met, the seriousness of the situation in the back country led the Council of Safety on July 23 to resolve "That the Hon'ble. William Henry Drayton, and the Reverend William Tennent be the two gentlemen to make a progress into the back country, to explain to the people, the causes of the present disputes, between Great Britain and the American Colonies."¹¹ Drayton and Tennent left Charles Town on August 2 and were joined five days later by the Reverend Oliver Hart. Tennent returned to his home on September 15. The mission accomplished as much as could have been reasonably expected.¹²

⁷ *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South-Carolina* [Jan. 1775] (Charles-Town, 1775), p. 5.

⁸ John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Charleston, 1821), I, 168-174, 182-184, here cited as Drayton, *Memoirs*; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1899), pp. 774-776.

⁹ SCG&CJ, May 9, 1775; Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 231.

¹⁰ *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South-Carolina, Held at Charles-Town, June 1st to 22nd, 1775* (Charles-Town, 1775), pp. 5-9, 14-15, 29-34; "Miscellaneous Papers of the General Committee, Secret Committee and Provincial Congress, 1775," this *Magazine*, VIII (1907), 147-149.

¹¹ Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 317-324, 351-352; Robert W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution* (3 vols., New York, 1853-1857), I, 105-106, here cited as Gibbes, ed., *History*.

¹² "A Fragment of a Journal Kept by Rev. William Tennent . . . from August 2 to Sept. 15," Gibbes, ed., *History*, I, 225-239, and also in *Charleston Year Book*, 1894 (Charleston, n. d.), pp. 295-312; Diary of Oliver Hart in Oliver Hart Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Univ. of S. C. For estimates of the mission see

In the Second Provincial Congress Tennent represented the District Eastward of Wateree River. He reported for a committee which was responsible for determining the types of manufacturing establishments which should be set up in South Carolina and the best means of encouraging people to undertake these enterprises. On the day that Congress adjourned Tennent and the Reverend Hart were thanked for "the important services by them respectively rendered to this colony, in their late progress into the Back Country."¹³ The Second Provincial Congress became the General Assembly with the adoption of the Constitution of 1776. Tennent's "Historic Remarks" indicate his reaction and something of his role in the second session of the General Assembly.¹⁴

The new legislature took up the task of completing a new constitution. The committee of the previous Assembly had not included any alteration in the status of the Church of England in the proposed constitutional changes.¹⁵ In the spring of 1776, however, the clergy of the province had been invited to meet at the Baptist Church at the High Hills of Santee to make plans for "securing an equality in religious privileges . . ." Tennent apparently was chosen at this meeting to represent the Dissenters before the General Assembly,¹⁶ and he was the author of a petition which sought disestablishment of the Church of England.¹⁷ The petition was circulated throughout the state, and public sentiment in certain areas began to rise in support of disestablishment, as is indicated by the presentment of the Grand Jury of Ninety Six

Richard J. Hooker, ed., *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (Chapel Hill, 1953), pp. 188-189; Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1955), p. 39; and John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789*, Vol. III of *A History of the South*, eds. Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 200, here cited as Alden, *The South in the Revolution*.

¹³ *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South-Carolina, Held At Charles-Town, November 1st to November 29, 1775* (Charles-Town, 1776), pp. iv, 133, 154-158, 164.

¹⁴ David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948* (Chapel Hill, 1951), p. 272, here cited as Wallace, *Short History*; *infra*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279; A. S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, Sept. 17, 1776- Oct. 20, 1776* (Columbia, 1909), pp. 136-137, here cited as Salley, ed., *JGA*, 1776.

¹⁶ R. N. Daniel, "Richard Furman, Champion of Civil and Religious Liberty," *Furman University Magazine* II (1953), 16-18; Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805* (Florence, 1935), p. 277; Wallace, *Short History*, p. 279. The first indicates that all ministers of the colony were invited; the latter two that it was a Baptist meeting.

¹⁷ Tennent MSS, *infra*.

District. The jury, on which Patrick Calhoun served as foreman, recommended that all denominations of Protestants be put on an equal basis, since we "are equally entitled to religious as well as civil Freedom and Liberties."¹⁸

Tennent's address on the Dissenting Petition was his last important public service. He was called to New Jersey by the death of his father and on the return trip he fell victim to a "nervous fever" at the High Hills of Santee and died August 11, 1777. The Reverend Richard Furman was at his bedside and wrote Tennent's wife that at the time of his death his "mind was calm and easy . . ."¹⁹

William Tennent had married Susan Vergereau in 1764 and was survived by his widow and five children. Funeral sermons were preached by the Reverend Hugh Allison of James Island and the Reverend Oliver Hart.²⁰

Freehold, New Jersey
Jany. 25, 1763

Dearest Susan,²¹

In a late and silent hour, while all the world sleeps and while yourself forgetful of your friend are lost in soft slumbers, he wakes; wakes to think of you and loose himself for a while in the fond fancy that he is conversing with her who still engrosses his whole soul. Forgive me when I accuse you of disturbing my very dreams. Not long since, in sleep, I fancied I met you in some village, alone, and with a beating bosom, rushed forward to bid you welcome, but instead of smiles me thought you froze my soul with a forbidding frown. Oh, Susan, had you ever felt the power of such a sting as awoke me and forbad my eyes to close again the whole night, you could feel for me. My soul is still the same. Hardships and discouragements rather whet my resolution, and nothing, nothing but your absolute displeasure and asserting that you cannot and will not regard me shall prevent my persisting in my design of endeavouring to procure the consent of her whom I still love and respect as a mother. I would not have it thought that I would

¹⁸ A. S. Salley, Jr., ed. *Col. William Hill's Memoirs of the Revolution* (Columbia, 1921), p. 30; *The South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Dec. 5-12, 1776, here cited as SC & AGG.

¹⁹ Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, pp. 372-373.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Tennent MSS; Oliver Hart Papers.

²¹ Throughout the edited material which follows capitalization, punctuation and paragraphing have been changed to facilitate reading. The spelling has been maintained and the use of *sic* held to a minimum. A printed source, where available, has been followed throughout rather than the Tennent MSS, which was a copy, perhaps of an original by William Tennent, or perhaps at times of a printed source. Major variations from the Tennent MSS are indicated in footnotes.

act so low and unmanly a part as to relinquish without a genteel trial, as if I had committed a crime.

My soul detests the meanness and I can't suffer myself to dream that my dear Susan will lift her hand to restrain me. What I have done my conscience approves. My God knows that all my designs and desires have been of the most honorable nature. As for fortune, I despise it in comparison, to prove which I could bring you a very late instance, but it is improper, it being my own case. And [I] have sometimes wished that my dear Susan had nothing but her person, that I might have an opportunity of convincing those who say the contrary. I doubt not but that then we could live genteelly, if I may judge by the offers already made me. As for the objections against my character and office, I despise them and shall never say a word to answer them but this, that far from being ashamed of it I make it my boast as the most honorable Heaven could employ me in, and that *that* lady who has such low notions of heavenly things as to make my office an objection is the last person that I should pitch upon while I kept my senses.

As for my being a Presbyterian, I boast that in *that* I agree in doctrine and orders to a tittle with the French and Dutch, nay with all the reformed churches in the whole world, save the little Church of England. *Little*, I say, because it is in fact the smallest body of a church of any that has been mentioned, which everybody knows who is acquainted with history. As for the uncertainty of my settlement *here* or *there*, let me only hint this, there are above fifty large vacant places who cry incessantly for supplies and are almost at choice. The uncertainty of being *here* or *there* will depend much upon the reception I meet with from you, or *rather I hope* from your dear Mama. That will perhaps determine me to leave this place for the most distant corner I can find. But reason, nay, common sense, tells me that I need not despair of this if I take a proper step and am joined in the time by my dear Susan's only consenting that what I asserted is true. It is this I insist upon, and pardon me when I say, Honor demands it. If you can put any confidence in my prudence or love, depend upon it that what I undertake shall be done as not in the least to expose her who I value more than all New York. If it had not been for fear of suspicion, I would have returned immediately after *something*, of which the other enclosed letter will inform you. Without an absolute prohibition expect to see me as soon as the season will be so favorable as to render it unsuspected. But before I see your Mama, I ask one favor. It is innocent and you can't deny me. I not only ask but intreat, if you have one

spark of kindness left for me, if your breast is not become hard and immoveable, in short if you yet are *yourself*. It is that I may have the privilege of seeing you at Mr. Pintard's in the evening before I come to your house and that you will intrust our faithful friend E B ———²² with a letter signifying plainly what you have before often hinted, (*viz.*) that it is only the consent of friends you want. Oh, Susan, if you will comply with this request, perhaps—who knows but what my whole life shall express my gratitude? My coming into town you shall know of instantly by a private card.

In the present case, if I have the happiness of understanding it rightly, the first dictates of nature, the laws of God, and the customs of all mankind are for us. And can you suppose that the affection of a mother will be against all these, if she is properly applied to and knows the case? No, it is impossible; reason and religion, nay, common sense, forbids it. And more than all this, Heaven seems to favor us, by preventing unexpectedly some undertakings that appeared necessary for me, which I cannot here relate.

Are you not weary with my length—indeed I fear it. If I consulted my own feeling, the whole night and day would not finish my epistle. But I must adieu, and can only with a heart and hand trembling for the event of this, commit the case to my God and your God, wish you many an happy New Year, and kiss your name, instead of her, who on this side [of] Heaven is the dearest to

William Tennent

Miss Susan Vergereau
New York

TO THE LADIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA ²³

My *help-meet* having led the way, I need not be afraid to follow. Even my wife, except when she is in a pett, will allow that I am a fond husband and an admirer of your sex.²⁴ Instead of abridging, I could

²² E B ——— was Elias Boudinot, who lived in Princeton from about 1753 to 1760. He and Tennent had corresponded since 1758 and Boudinot had served as an intermediary between his cousin Susan and Tennent. George Adams Boyd, *Elias Boudinot: Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821* (Princeton, 1952), pp. 10-16; Tennent MSS.

²³ This letter appeared in the SCG&CJ, Aug. 2, 1774.

²⁴ Neither the first two sentences nor the signature appear in the Tennent MSS. Presumably "The Planter's Wife" had written a plea that the ladies organize and pledge not to use tea. Such a plea has not been found, but it may have appeared in the SCG&CJ on July 19, 1774 (No. 451), which is missing from the Charleston

wish to add to the number of your lawful enjoyments. But I cannot think you so divested of all love to your country as to be willing to partake of any trivial pleasure at the expence of the liberties, if not of the blood of your husbands and children. Will not my fair readers be persuaded to lend their hand to save America from the dagger of tyranny? Will any female American indulge herself in so trifling an amusement at the danger of the lives and liberties of all she holds dear?

Be persuaded to enquire, and you will find that the grand struggle at present between Britain and this country is whether the revenue on tea shall be carried into execution here? The Ministry too well know the effect of long habit; they have persuaded themselves that rather than give up their [your] darling tea-dish ceremony, you will suffer this empire to be enslaved and your husbands throats to be cut. It is tea that has kept all America trembling for years. It is tea that has brought vengeance upon Boston; and you may thank your tea-tables that thousands are now cruelly deprived of their bread. It is for tea that the very vitals of America are stabbed; and it is tea that has brought down upon you the *Murder Act*, by which the blood of your fathers, your children cruelly massacred before you, may cry in vain for vengeance. It is to cram down that East-India poison, and make you pay tax upon it, that armies and fleets are sent over to put you to death if you oppose. It is in support of the Tea Act that the chartered privileges of a great province are sacrificed,²⁵ and that brave people are put under the harrow of military law. You may expect daily to hear news from that quarter that shall so fill your tender hearts with horror, as to make you shriek in your dreams. All America is threatened with a deluge of blood from this accursed tea.

It is our resistance to this, in which the loss of all our privileges is involved, that brings down the vengeance of the throne upon us. Our K—— himself is an East-India merchant; tea is their greatest revenue. In a short time you probably will see these streets trodden down with soldiery in favour of this same Tea Act, and many of your husbands and sons lying in their gore before you. They cannot, they will

papers as microfilmed by the Charleston Library Society. The *SCG&CJ*, Aug. 16, 1774, contains a letter from "Andromache" to "The Planter's Wife" praising her for the part she had taken in the tea controversy.

²⁵ Tennent is referring to the Coercive Acts passed by Parliament between March 31 and May 20, 1774. The Murder Act was apparently the Administration of Justice Act; in the *SCG&CJ*, Sept. 6, 1774, "A Carolinian" refers to the Boston Port Act, the Murder Act, the Charter Act, and the Canada Act.

not, submit to the tyranny of a bloody Minister. It is better to die.²⁶ Scarce one day passes without an uproar on account of tea. My dear ladies, have you any spirit? Have you the soul[s] of Englishwomen? I'm sure you have. If you thought you could do anything to save your country, I'm sure you would do it. I am sure you can do it, if you will only deny yourselves— What? Your life? Your love? Your ease? Your daily bread? No!—Only a mere ceremony—worse, a time consuming poison; a thing which no one can pretend ever did any good. A thing which ha[s] in the opinion of the best physicians spread over all Europe and America legions of diseases before unknown, ruined the nerves of half mankind, and added to the miseries of the human race ten thousand woes. A thing which is now become a political plague, as well as a natural one; and which, in addition to the annual tax of near half a million Sterling on these colonies, is now made use of as the very means of enslaving America. The Ministry think that your love to your tea-tackling, those play-things of the evening, will make you surrender the liberties and lives of your country. And will you not disappoint them? Here is the great bone of contention, and you have it in your power to remove it. If the ladies in America will agree to use no more East India tea, it will have the following good effects; I will number them to render them conspicuous:

1. It will entirely disarm the Tea Revenue Act, and render it only a monument of British folly. For if a tax should lye a thousand years upon an article that is not consumed, it will do no harm.

2. It will convince them that American patriotism extends even to the fair sex, and discourage any future attempts to enslave us.

3. It will punish the East-India Company effectually, for having entered into a league with the Ministry to fasten our chains, for it will be 500,000 £ Sterling per annum out of their business forever.

4. It will discourage any more attempts to import tea into the colonies; for who will import a thing that must rot when it comes in the warehouses?

5. It will of consequence save captains of vessels, as well as the merchants, the temptation of clandestinely endeavouring to steal in this commodity upon us, contrary to the sense of the people, and by this means prevent that noise, confusion, and riot which follows the daily discovery of such attempts, to the danger of the lives of multitudes.

6. It will take away the pretence (for the Ministry want only a pretence) of the necessity of an armed soldiery among us to cut our

²⁶ The two preceding sentences do not appear in the *SCG&CJ*.

throats. It would have prevented all the miseries of Boston. It may save the lives of half the men of America, and preserve you from seeing your streets run with blood.

7. It will save immense sums of money, which otherwise expended would gratify you much more.²⁷

8. It will save the remains of your own constitutions, and secure the health of your children and children's children. Never was there so favourable a crisis before, to put an end to a custom which, tho' declared useless, has so long tyrannized over human kind, to the ruin of health and estate, [and] which has at once fattened the purse of the physician and the sexton, encreased the number of the dead, and enfeebled the living. Yes, ladies—you have it in your power more than all our committees and congresses—to strike the stroke, and make the hills and plains of America clap their hands. If you will make no tea, that baneful plant will no more load the Atlantic, nor spread our shores with disease and tyranny.

You are deceived by those, who to prevent you, would place WINE on the same footing with tea. No man will dare step forth into the public and avow the sentiment. I confess that so much wine as is destroyed is pernicious. But still there is no one who denies, that a proper proportion of wine is absolutely necessary in these climates for the health and comfort of the ladies as well as gentlemen. The duties on wine are indeed for other purposes than the tax on tea. They were laid on, they were submitted to before England formally laid claim to the right of taxing America, or perhaps thought of it. The *Tea Duty* was laid on to shew their power. The former was considered only as a regulation of commerce for the benefit of England and America both. The Tea Duty was laid on expressly with the design to establish the power of Parliament to tax us. About the *Wine Act* there has been no struggle. Tea is now the very subject of dispute, and seemingly the *hinge* on which our freedom turns. Every ounce of tea you buy will, I fear, be paid for by the blood of your sons. O, my fair compassionate readers, arouse! Take the alarm for your country! Do your part to end this dispute. Pity the little infants that prattle at your knee. Pray God to preserve them free, and while we stand ready to bleed in your defence, if possible take away the cause—associate—resolve—burn your tea—refuse to buy any more. Your country will rise and call you blessed, and

²⁷ The remainder of the letter does not appear in the Tennent MSS. This portion, with the signature and advertisement, may have been added by the editor of the newspaper.

we, to the tenderness of husbands and lovers, will add all the respect that is due to the deliverers of their country.

The Husband of the Planter's Wife

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE LADIES

By the desire of a number of respectable ladies, it is proposed that there be a meeting of that amiable part of our species, in some convenient place in this town, to converse and agree upon some general plan of conduct with respect to the article of TEA.

In our next we hope to be able to favour our readers with the time and place of the proposed meeting.²⁸

MR. PRINTER:

LET not your readers be surprised that so many were found in the most faithful of the provinces capable of signing so fulsome an address to a governor, whose name the throne itself cannot rescue from rotting in eternal infamy.²⁹ I take the liberty, through your paper, to account for it and submit my observations to the public.

In every province there are [those] whose principles are poisoned by artifice, by ignorance, by connection, by interest. The size of this province compared to that of Massachusetts Bay is

"Like Shrubs when lofty Cypresses are near."

And yet I fear, if you rake the kennel of political filth, you will find an equal number to lend their names to any man who is favoured with ministerial smiles.

It cannot be thought strange by one who knows mankind, that a governor of real talents, great family connections, and good fortune, who in addition to his birth and education in the province, has sustained various offices and been the means of introducing many others into office, whose dependants of course had always been numerous, it

²⁸ "Andromache" in the issue of August 16, proposed that a group of ladies "of the first Character" divide up the town with the idea of securing the pledge of the mistress of every household to "totally renounce the baneful Herb . . ." and made an alternate proposal that friendly neighborhood visits might result in similar agreements.

²⁹ This letter appeared in the *SCG&CJ*, Aug. 16, 1774. When Hutchinson was replaced by Gen. Gage as Governor of Massachusetts, he received a number of laudatory addresses. Tennent is probably referring to the Address of Episcopal Ministers and Wardens of the Churches in Boston and Neighbouring Towns, printed in the *SC&AGG*, June 24—July 1, 1774.

cannot, I say, be thought strange, if such a man in such a country should find many to cringe to his shadow. Especially if you recollect him now going to the fountain of power to receive the rewards of a king, whom he had served blindfold; if you think of the influence which his recommendation may be supposed to have with the minister of state; [and] if you view the province as about to be mutilated, all its officers changed, and the almost certain advancement of those who could prostitute their consciences by such an address. The future promotions of those on that list will convince you that there was bait enough to tempt the greedy. How many do you find in every community who with smaller prospects than these are ready to sell their God?

Another class of puny minds were no doubt influenced by fear. A military governor arrived—a fleet in the harbour—a soldiery parading—the town blockaded—their property, with that of others, little better than confiscated. It is easy to imagine what effect the representation would have upon them—that no man had it in his power so much to help them as Mr. Hutchinson.

But your wonder will cease when you read the names and consider the denomination of the greater number of the signers. It is no impeachment of the Church of England to say that they belong to her. A short state of facts will be her vindication, and shew that it is not proper to the Church of England as such, but only the act of a disappointed *minority*. The spirit of the Church of England in these Southern provinces shews that her members have as high a sense of the rights of mankind as any in the world. The Congregational discipline has been established in those colonies from their beginning. Their ancestors fled from the hand of Episcopal tyranny in the intemperate days of Laud. They brought with them, they have handed down, a spirit of independency and a resolution to think for themselves. Emigrants from Britain of the Church of England have ever yielded with reluctance to the idea of being dissenters in New England and have been unwearied in their endeavours to get a change of government. But the late attempt of an aspiring convention of Episcopal clergy *there* to procure a parliamentary establishment of bishops in each of the provinces has fixed them all in the ministerial scale.³⁰ American episcopates, according

³⁰ Annual conventions and petitions for the appointment of bishops in the colonies had been initiated in 1766 by the Episcopal clergy of N. Y., N. J., Conn. and Mass. Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, Vol. IX of *Harvard Historical Studies* (New York, 1902), pp. 164-165, 215-216, 258-259.

to the Bishop of Landaff [*sic*], have been the favourite object of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for many years."³¹ *To episcopise rather than to gospelise Americans*. Observing that the principles and measures of the present reign bid fair, the hint was given to our Northern clergy that it was a good time to petition.³² The clergy, we know, are fond of ladders to preferment. Don't wonder that a combination was formed accordingly. Petitions went home to the King, to the Lords, to the Commons, to the Universities, etc., etc. Copies of sundry of them were procured containing severe reflections on the American loyalty and urging the measure as necessary to secure our dependance on the Crown.³³

So groce an attempt upon their reputation for loyalty, as well as upon American freedom in general, could not fail to form a combination of non-Episcopalians to defend themselves. They united, they opposed the measures, they employed their agents.³⁴ They alleged that "they had no objection to episcopates upon the primitive plan, *i. e.*, entirely divested of temporal powers; that they had fled from parliamentary bishops, and after innumerable hardships had subdued a new world, in hopes there to enjoy entire liberty of conscience; that it was hard to follow them across the Atlantic; that *the design was too plainly to obtain bishops with civil powers*, otherwise the King, the Lords, the Commons need not be petitioned; [and] that the bishops alone could convey all ecclesiastical powers necessary, if they would be content

³¹ John Ewer, Bishop of Llandaff, at the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1767, blamed the lack of native Episcopal ministers in the colonies on the difficulties involved in coming to England for ordination. Dr. Charles Chauncy, a Boston clergyman, attacked the Bishop's statements in a pamphlet and unfairly concluded that the Bishop had confirmed the suspicion that "their MAIN VIEW was to EPISCOPIZE the colonies . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162. Apparently Tennent followed Chauncy's interpretation.

³² The Rev. Thomas Chandler, rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., wrote an *Appeal to the Public* in 1767 on the question of Anglican bishops in the colonies. He felt that the time was ripe because "Great Britain is at peace and the government has no other distracting occupation . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 164-169.

³³ Many of the Episcopal clergy involved in the attempt to secure bishops had loyalist sympathies and one of their later petitions contained the statement, "Independency in Religion will naturally produce Republicans in the State . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 254-255.

³⁴ Beginning in 1766, the synods of N. Y. and N. J. Presbyterians and several Conn. Congregational associations began holding conventions to defeat the attempts by the Episcopalians in the colonies to secure bishops. They corresponded with the "Committee of Dissenters" in London. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-218.

with them. They denied the power of parliament to establish religion in America, or to tax us in *spirituals* more than in *temporals*. They complained of the perfidy of the convention in tacitly disowning the power of our assemblies and attempting to draw down upon us the arm of parliament. They contended that the millions of *free-born Americans* would never submit to the clandestine overthrow of all their constitutions; that the tyranny of *courts of admiralty* was but too much already without a new sett of *spiritual courts*, more arbitrary than they. They conjured their brethren not to try insidiously and without consulting the sense of the colonies to bring down upon them the tax of an enormous *hierarchy*, a tax which in England is sufficient to maintain a constant war."³⁵

They with difficulty got the measure set aside. The aspiring zealots can't forgive the disappointment; they still keep in view the same object. Their only chance of success in obtaining those *ecclesiastical principalities* lies in the support of parliamentary power. They therefore treat with disdain all our provincial assemblies, and are heated advocates for parliamentary taxation. Their pulpits, their conversation is only the echo to ministerial measures; and such has been their influence that shew me an Episcopalian in the New England colonies, and I will shew you an advocate for the present tyrannical measures of Lord N—th. These men have invariably joined the governors and loaded the colonies with eternal misrepresentations as disloyal and rebellious.³⁶ They are to be considered, therefore, as highly instrumental in bringing down the present storm.

In such a state of things it is strange that Hutchinson, the great advocate for parliamentary power, should receive the address of their clergy and find 150 wretches to subscribe his *valeat*?

Sin falsum accinge contra ³⁷

A Carolinian No. III

³⁵ This quotation summarizes many of the arguments used in the pamphlet and newspaper exchange on this question. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175, 180, 196-197, 204-207.

³⁶ The ministry showed little favor to the idea of bishops in the colonies, and while the Stamp Act had not ended colonial attempts to secure bishops, the chances of securing them decreased from that time on. The charge that the Episcopal clergy and Greenville would enslave the non-Episcopalians was made in 1768. *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 252.

³⁷ If it be false, gird yourself against it.

SOME OF THE BLESSINGS OF MILITARY LAW, OR THE INSOLENCE OF
GOVERNOR G—E.³⁸

To the Inhabitants of SOUTH-CAROLINA

It has often been observed that with all the plausible pretences to protection and defence, a *standing army* is the most dangerous enemy to the liberties of a nation that can be thought of. No prince, no minister has ever made an attempt upon the rights of a people until he found himself at the head of an army to put his enterprise into execution. Standing armies have enslaved the whole human race. It is much better with a well regulated militia to run the risque of a foreign *invasion* than with a standing army to run the risque of *slavery*. It is contrary to nature; the instance cannot be given in which the people have uniformly arose against and continued to resist good and equitable government. When an army is sent to enforce *laws*, it is always an evidence that either the law makers are conscious that they had no clear and indisputable right to make those laws, or that they are bad and oppressive. Wherever the people themselves have had an hand in making laws, *according to the first principles of our constitution*, there is no danger of non-submission, nor can there be need of an army to enforce them. A consciousness of oppression is therefore proclaimed by the very action of sending troops to America.

The late insolence of Governor G—ge is a sufficient instance to prove the danger of military governors. Such treatment of so venerable a body of men as compose that Council is hardly paralleled in history. They come; they hasten at once to congratulate his safe arrival in the government and to do him the honour to express their sanguine hopes from his wisdom and goodness. They only hint their complaints of his predecessors; they are stopped short in the midst of their speech; they are sent away with contempt.³⁹ The memory of those dark and cruel assassins is so sacred that it must not be mentioned but with veneration. Where is the instance in which any prince on the throne has so treated the congratulations of his meanest vassals? Is this the manner in which the most honourable Board in a province is to be treated, if they only presume to complain of past grievances? Is it difficult to tell whether this savours most of brutality or tyranny?

³⁸ This letter appeared in the *SCG&CJ*, Aug. 23, 1774. Gen. Thomas Gage arrived in Boston May 13, to replace Gov. Hutchinson.

³⁹ On June 9, a committee of the Massachusetts Council presented an address to the Governor in reply to his speech at the opening of the General Court. Gage refused to receive an address which reflected on the conduct of his two predecessors. *SCG&CJ*, July 26, 1774.

But when I read the *proclamation* of the 29th of June, 1774, I fancy myself transported into the regions of [A]*Natolia*, and that I hear the arbitrary mandates of some *Turkish Bashaw*.⁴⁰ I think the man is either ignorant of the first principles of law, or he must have it in command to provoke that oppressed people to blood.

But what is their crime? Why, after they have been violently stripped of all their ancient privileges, the property of a whole city little better than confiscated without a trial, a province robbed of their charter, their lives laid at the mercy of a bloody soldiery—when every principle of law and of common humanity would vindicate their taking up arms—their only crime is that they enter into a peaceable agreement among themselves that they will no more traffic with those people who are trying to enslave them. If it be indeed a truth that Englishmen are bound to suffer all that is laid upon them without pursuing any method for redress; if we must first be put upon the wreck [rack], then be gagged lest we should complain; if it be treason to determine what goods we will buy and what not—then the Governor is in the right. But to every reasonable man a *non-importation agreement* comes recommended with this confessed advantage, that it is a *peaceable, a constitutional, as well as effectual measure*. General G—e is the first man who has ever disputed the right that an Englishman has to chuse *whether he will buy or not buy any kind of goods*. But if I have a right to refuse buying British goods, I have a right to agree not to buy them. If I have a right to agree, I have also a right to subscribe such an agreement.

But as if determined to force that worthy people into a war, or oblige them meanly to submit—not only to hold their tongues, nor so much as complain of their oppressions—but to the slavery of buying British goods whether they will or not, he issues a proclamation accusing them of *unlawful, hostile, treasonable* combinations and threatening almost half a million of free-born subjects with the pains due to *treason* and *rebellion*, if they dare to enter into such resolutions.⁴¹ This, I think, is designed as a precedent for all *America*.

But let me ask that redoubtable *Bashaw* at the head of his five regiments and *park of eighteen cannon*, what law have those people

⁴⁰ The proclamation followed the drawing up of a Solemn League and Covenant by the Boston Committee of Correspondence pledging signers to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. The proclamation required magistrates to arrest and bring to trial anyone who should publish, or offer to anyone else for signature, or who should sign this or any similar covenant. *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 1774.

⁴¹ The proclamation warned against anyone's "entering into . . . such unlawful, hostile and traitorous combinations, as they would avoid the pains and penalties due to such aggravated and dangerous offences." *Ibid.*

broke by their agreements? What are the *sundry statutes made and provided* to prevent Englishmen from resolving not to buy British manufactures?⁴² Shall we suspect that his Excel—y is mean enough to lie, to impose upon the populace? Or does he imagine that at the head of that despicable phalanx he has a right to make laws for the whole continent, by which our eating and drinking shall be *treason, rebellion* and any other higher crime? If we are to be intimidated by every threat of a governor, we are come to a fine pass. If we should be so rash as to resolve that we will drink no more *tea*, according to that omnipotent lawmaker, we shall be considered as the *declared open enemies* of the King, Parliament and Nation.⁴³ His meaning no doubt is that we shall be hanged and burnt accordingly.

But if this paper ever comes into the hands of that petty tyrant, it may only hint to him that there is not a boy of 14 in his province but understands his rights better than to be imposed upon by such an artifice; and that altho' the nation in its present short fit of apoplexy may uphold him in the stopping up of Boston Harbour, yet he mistakes if he thinks the nation will support him in the execution of his *Turkish Edicts*; nor will they prostitute their blood and treasure to enforce any laws which Thomas G—e shall please to enact in his fancied omnipotence.* He may go as far as Law allows; he goes farther at his peril.

A Carolinian No. IV

* The reason why the present Ministry preferred Gage to Hutchinson for the execution of the present plan of tyranny is plain. The one is a lawyer and is accustomed to view the barrier of the law as unsurmountable. The other is a soldier, and consequently by profession has an higher opinion of the sword. The instruments of oppression must be fit for the purpose.

⁴² Gage charged that "interrupting, obstructing and destroying her [Britain's] trade with the colonies, contrary to . . . divers statutes . . ." threatens the peace of the community. *Ibid.* Tennent was obviously appealing to the basic rights of Englishmen rather than to specific statutes.

⁴³ The proclamation stated that those who signed the covenant would "expose themselves to the fatal consequences of being considered as the declared and open enemies of the King, Parliament, and the Kingdom of Great Britain." *Ibid.*

(To be continued)

HENRY LAURENS ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The following excerpt from the papers of Henry Laurens¹ is interesting for the timeliness of its topic and for its reflection of the keen antagonism between Laurens and William Henry Drayton. Laurens's bitterness here was doubtless heightened by the fact that Drayton had recently sided against him on the question of New England's demand for American rights in the Newfoundland and Canadian coast fisheries.

In Congress 2d July '79

A Letter [was read] from a french Officer John in bombast terms on the glorious anniversary of American Independence and praying Congress to employ him to exhibit certain grand fire works on the 5th Inst. which he *had prepared* for the purpose.

Mr. Drayton rose and in a funny declamation informed the House that it had been the practice of all Nations ancient and modern to celebrate particular days by festivity, that Greece had instituted the Olympic Games, these things he repeated again and again without [*sic*] and concluded by hoping the Man would be ordered to exhibit his fire works.

Mr. Laurens, rose, expressed his astonishment at the conduct of his Honorable Colleague, who seemed to be altogether joyous at a time when he thought he was loudly called on to serious reflection. Does not the Gentleman know that his own Country is bleeding at every vein and now probably reduced to the greatest distress?—has not the Gentleman recently received a Letter informing him that all the Rich Planters in the Southermost parts of his Country are ruined?—did we not yesterday receive a very alarming Letter from the Quarter Master General?—have we forgot the alarming Letters from Gen Gates read at that Table but two or three days ago?—has not the Commander in chief frequently informed us of the precarious state of existence in which our Army has for some time been?—have we not held out to our Constituents that we were endeavoring to appreciate our Currency by lessening the quantity in circulation?—is not every unnecessary expenditure the cause of increased emissions?—is this the Honble. Gentleman's mode for appreciating our Paper Money by adding expence to expence unnecessarily?

If the Honble. Gentleman will shew me that the United States of Holland when they were in our circumstances and I believe they never were less able to bear expence than we are, or the Canton's of Switzer-

¹ MS Letter Book #22 (1778-1780), South Carolina Historical Society.

land, plunged into expensive feasts for celebrating the anniversary of their Independence, I might be brought to agree with him—but I believe he cannot produce any such Instances from their histories—their prudence, their economy assured their Independence and their present happy establishment.

The Olympic Games of Greece and other fooleries brought on the dissolution of Greece—my Colleague may think this a day for joy and mirth, I am of a different opinion. I rather think it a time for fasting and mourning, I speak seriously and I hope I speak properly—I move, the Letter may lie on the Table and no further notice be taken of it.—This was loudly seconded.

Mr. Drayton, replied, I would have Gentlemen when they talk of history discover that they knew something about it—the Olympic Games were not instituted for the celebration of anniversaries nor did they bring on the ruin of Greece. They were calculated for improving bodily strength—to make Man athletic and robust.* Here he was called to order by several Members and to sit him down the Order of the day was called for and the Paper ordered to lie on the Table and generally exploded.

I might have added to my questions—ought that Gentleman to consent to any unnecessary expence which may add weight to the already intolerable burden of Taxes laid on his Constituents? but in my zeal it escaped me.

* [*Lauren's footnote*] Is drinking Madeira Wine from 5 to 9 oClock then sallying out to gaze at fire works, and afterwards returning to Wine again, calculated to make Men Athletic and robust? Why then introduce the Olympic Games as an example for fire works.

RECORDS OF THE WILLTOWN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
1747-1841

Edited by SLANN LEGARE CLEMENT SIMMONS *

With Introduction by Edward Guerrant Lilly †

The historical marker placed at the intersection of the Willtown and Parker's Ferry Roads reads:

Willtown Bluff

Willtown Bluff on the Edisto River, site of an old town called Willtown of New London, established about 1685. There was an early Presbyterian Church here.

The historical marker, one lonely pillar,¹ and about a dozen tombstones are all that now remain at Willtown Bluff to mark the site of the churches which once stood there. The records of the Willtown Presbyterian Church show the effects of time, for many have disappeared and those remaining are scanty and age-worn. The major part of these, dealing with the affairs of the Trustees, were known to Rev. George Howe and quoted by him in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*.² The manuscripts were given by Mr. A. S. Salley³ to the Historic Activities Committee of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of South Carolina for preservation and publication.⁴

* Secretary of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina.

† Former pastor of the First (Scots) Presbyterian Church, Charleston, and now of the First Presbyterian Church, Hartsville.

¹ The pillar remains of Christ Episcopal Church, Wilton, built 1836. It stood on the site of the Presbyterian Church, the property having been purchased in 1835. Bishop Bowen described it as "a beautiful specimen of chaste and simple Grecian Architecture." Albert Sydney Thomas, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina 1820-1957* (Columbia, 1957), pp. 166-167. For tombstone inscriptions see this *Magazine*, XXVII (1926), 104.

² (2 vols., Columbia, 1870-1883).

³ The manuscripts had formerly been in the possession of Francis Yonge Legare of Adams Run, grandson of the Francis Y. Legare whose name is on the subscription list of 1813-1819 and son of James Legare and Claudia Giradeau.

⁴ Mrs. George C. Logan, Chairman of the Committee, assisted by members of the Society, accomplished the arduous task of transcribing the records and completing certain preliminary work connected with their editing. She also arranged for the lamination of the manuscripts through the courtesy of Dr. Harold Easterby, Director of the S. C. Archives Department.

Dr. Lilly's careful study and detailed summaries of this manuscript material have been placed on file with the Historic Activities Committee. *Editor.*]

The first known minister was Rev. Archibald Stobo,⁵ formerly (1700-1704) pastor of the Independent Meeting House Congregation, now the Circular Congregational Church of Charleston, S. C. Rev. Alexander Hewatt said of him, "He possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected. To his treasure of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence to the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. No minister of the colony ever engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem."

In 1784 the church was incorporated as "The Presbyterian Church of Wilton in St. Paul's Parish" (I, 472).⁶

In the Presbyterian Church, the Session (which is composed of the minister and the Ruling Elders) receives the members into the church, keeps the records, and has charge of the spiritual affairs of the congregation. The Deacons supervise the property and the material possessions of the congregation, and the Trustees act as the legal agents of the Church. In the era before the Revolutionary War, congregations of churches other than the Church of England, could not be incorporated, so individuals had to act legally for them, holding all property in their behalf. In some congregations, the work of the Deacons was largely done by the Trustees, and this seems to have been the case at certain times here. We have no original records of work of the Session or the Deacons of this congregation.

E. G. L.

Wiltown, on the east bank of the South Edisto River, in St. Paul's Parish, was, for more than two centuries, within the bounds of old Colleton County. Since about 1910 it has been in Charleston County. From the high bluff may still be seen "one of the loveliest prospects in the low country of the State" (I, 186).

The date of settlement is not known. An early plat existed, and only two lots, numbers 3 and 13, are recorded, January 8, 1697, as being granted according to this plat. The original grant to lot 13 describes it as being in "ye towne of Wilton in Colleton County one Corner Lott commonly known by ye name of number 13 as in ye Grand Platt of ye sd Towne . . . certified and returned this tenth day of Novembr Ano: Dom: 1697 By Mee Ste. Bull Surveyor."⁷

The plat for New London, made c. 1714, shows 3 and 13 out of order in the numbering of the lots. The boundaries of lot 13 are no longer the same,

⁵ The pocket Bible of Rev. Archibald Stobo was presented to the South Carolina Historical Society by Mrs. H. Marvin Franks.

⁶ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*. References in the text so cited are to this authority.

⁷ Original grant in possession of Mrs. Ashley Butler of Greenville, S. C.

except that the bluff or "front street" bounds it on the west.⁸ The earliest date of other lots granted in the town of "New London" is January 1715.

The name New London is found first in the Journal of Elder Pratt of New England (1696).⁹ It is again mentioned in 1714 and for a few years thereafter, but soon disappeared, and the old name, Willtown, persists today in Willtown Bluff.

Although the earliest of the records published here is of a later date, the records of the Willtown Presbyterian Church can be said to begin in 1728, as Rev. George Howe has described many not now extant.

Early in 1728, articles of agreement were drawn up by "the Presbyterian worshippers at Wilton Bluff." The document was signed: Archibald Stobo, Minister; X[pher (Christopher)] Wilkinson, Joseph Rusel, Samuel Lowle, Z. M. Edings, Elders; Paul Hamilton, Timothy Hendricks, Richard Ash, Wm. O'Neill, Wm. McMechen, Deacons (I, 187).

There was in existence a subscription list for the building of a Presbyterian Meeting House at "Wilton" bearing date 1731 (I, 202). Whether this was the first or second building erected for the express purpose is not known.

Elders and Deacons, serving at some time prior to 1738, are named in the undated will of Paul Hamilton (I, 202). Of these, all are stated to be deceased by 1753, and of their survivors only Richard Ash and Ezekiel Brantford were living. The death of Mr. Stobo was mentioned in a paper, now missing, dated October 15, 1741 (I, 229).¹⁰

The wills of Royal Spry and William Ferguson show the church to be vacant in 1745 and 1747, and Ferguson's bequest was for the support of the Presbyterian Minister "to the Congregation or Meeting of this place that is usually heretofore held at Will Town." The Rev. Archibald Simpson, whose journal in Carolina began in May, 1754 (I, 274), tells us that a "chapel of ease had been built in the upper part of the congregation." The date of building, not mentioned and apparently unknown, was, obviously, some time earlier. He mentions dissension among the members, those in the "south district" [attending the chapel in the "upper part of the congregation"] refusing to give up their chapel and one-half of the Minister's time, as long as the "Parish Church" remained at Wilton. The "north district" would not agree to a change of location and "the meeting broke up in confusion" (I, 276).

The Rev. Mr. Ross seems to have followed Mr. Stobo and died while serving the church (I, 252). The Rev. Hugh Stewart died before July 1748 (I, 257).

⁸ H. A. M. Smith, "Willtown or New London," this Magazine, X (1909), 20-32.

⁹ A. S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina* (N. Y., 1911), p. 196.

¹⁰ Archibald Stobo's will was dated 25 Feb., 1735/6, recorded 28 Nov., 1741. Records of the Probate Court, W.P.A. Copy, v.5, p.64, Charleston County Courthouse, hereafter cited as P.C.

Of the meeting of the Presbytery, June 2, 1752, Howe says, "From the record containing a notice of this meeting, it appears that there was no pastor in connection with the church." Also, "This record and the wills [of the legators], expressed in similar terms, establish the full Presbyterian character of this church" (I, 272-273). However, following the Revolutionary War, and until 1850, when Dr. John L. Girardeau was called, it is shown to have functioned entirely independent of the Presbytery, therefore, as an "Independent Church" (II, 625).

A paper existed showing that a call had been sent to Scotland about 1752 (I, 272).

Rev. Archibald Simpson preached his first sermon at Willtown, May 15, 1754. He says, "I was appointed to preach at Willtown, till we see what comes of their call from Scotland." He served until July, 1756, when he went to the Stoney Creek Church (Indian Land) to replace Mr. Hutson, who had removed to Charleston. He seems to have desired to return to Willtown in 1759, but there was much dissension still, and some opposition to him. He states, on May 16, 1759, "a call was presented from Wilton, or rather, a corner of it, to Rev. Mr. Al[iso]n . . . the call was by Mr. Stobo [James Stobo, son of Rev. Archibald], and a few in that corner." Mr. John Alison was installed at Willtown, May 1, 1759, and served until 1761. Between May 1765 and May 1766, both he and Simpson supplied the church during a vacancy (I, 275-277, 319-320).

The church "now aBuilding" on July 31, 1767, was completed in August when Mr. Simpson preached a sermon there. He mentions the new Meeting-house, "about four miles from the old one [at Willtown Bluff], and about three miles from the public path [Willtown Road], so that it is very convenient and central; it is a large handsome and very well built house—the pulpit and pews the same which used to be in the old brick meeting house."¹¹ He also says Mr. Stobo had moved out of the parish, and all differences were made up. Mr. Simpson was asked to accept their call but refused (I, 319-320).

The Rev. Mr. John Maltby was installed in December, 1769. He had served in Bermuda, replacing the Rev. Josiah Smith, and there had married Susannah, daughter of Captain John Darrel (I, 398-400). She and her little daughter died in 1770, and are buried in the churchyard of the "Burnt Church," built on the parsonage lands in 1767. The MS of J. L. Girardeau, D. D., states that the spot, "a few hundred yards from the road," is marked by "the remains of the ruins and a few grave stones which still stand in tolerable preservation. On one of these is the name of John Berkley, of honored memory, who was one of the Deacons of the Church, and on another that of

¹¹ The church was located on the Parker's Ferry or Edisto River Road, which ran from Willtown to the old Parker's Ferry Landing on the Charleston-Dorchester County line. It crossed the present U. S. Highway 17 at Parker's Ferry Crossroads, now called Parker's Ferry.

Mrs. Maltby, the widow [*sic*] of Rev. John Maltby, who was pastor of the Church from 1769 to 1771," and nearby, "signs of the place where the Parsonage stood"¹² (II, 62-63). Mr. Maltby died one year after his wife, and is buried in Dartmouth, N. H. (I, 399). He was succeeded by the Rev. John Martin, who became pastor early in 1772, as a missing paper showed. He died in June 1774, and left a son, Hawkins Martin.

The Rev. Oliver Reese supplied the church in 1775. He died that year or the next, and the Rev. Thomas Henderson was minister to the church in 1776 (I, 399). In June 1786, Mr. Henderson died. The Rev. James Wilson, Sr., served 1787-1788, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, 1789-1790 (I, 473). For a period thereafter nothing is known concerning the history of the church, but in 1799, the Rev. Andrew Steele was employed, and apparently served to 1802 (I, 576; II, 62-63).

On May 1, 1807, the congregation was asked to assemble at the ruins of the church lately burnt (II, 62). The minutes of the meeting were dated May 21.

The names appearing on an undated paper, now missing (I, 576-577), establish it as of 1807: "We the subscribers do promise to pay the sums respectively opposite our names, for the purpose of rebuilding the Wilton Church, situate at Wilton Bluff: James McElhenny,¹³ \$80; Charles Freer, \$100; John Ashe, \$100; Paul Hamilton, \$100; William Hayne, \$100" (I, 577). The word "rebuilding" of a church "situate" at the Bluff, and the fact that the last subscription list was open for five years or more, as shown by the names signed, lead to the conclusion that "the old brick meeting house", deserted in 1767 for a more "central" location, was repaired for temporary use. Twelve years later, a new church was being built at another more convenient location.

The Rev. Loami Floyd, a Congregational minister, pastor of the Pon Pon church from 1802, served, also, in the Willtown church. In 1819, he preached on alternate Sundays (II, 231). "On 30th April, 1820, a meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the church and the minutes state that their house of worship had been newly erected. It is situated about a mile from the village of Adam's Run and at the intersection of the Willtown (or Charleston roads)¹⁴ . . . It was dedicated April 30, 1820. Mr. Floyd preached a sermon

¹² The three remaining stones were copied by Mrs. W. H. Grimbail about 1948. The inscriptions from the stones of John Berkley (d. 1806) and Henry Veitch (d. 1811), were published in this *Magazine*, XL (1939), 39.

¹³ Rev. James McElhenny came to the Low-country in 1801, marrying that year, as his second wife, Susannah Wilkinson. He served the churches on John's and Wadmalaw Islands for about a year and by 1810, was pastor of the church at Hopewell, Keowee. He died in Oct., 1812, at Pendleton District (*Howe*, II, pp. 61, 299, 302).

¹⁴ About 4 miles from Willtown Bluff, on the south side of the Willtown Road where it forks as it joins the road from Adam's Run to Edisto Island. Here are a number of tombstones and several enclosed lots.

... Dr. Palmer followed with an address" (II, 335). Dr. B. M. Palmer was, also, a Congregational minister.

Rev. Henry T. Jones, editor of *The Southern Intelligencer*, a religious paper published in Charleston, served in 1823; Rev. Moses Chase in 1824, according to a now missing record. He did not continue long, as in November, 1824, Rev. Zabdiel Rogers was invited to preach (II, 335-336). This beloved pastor, a Presbyterian, served the church for more than twenty-three years. He had a paralytic stroke in December 1847, while delivering a sermon. At his death a resolution was adopted, signed, "J. Berkley Grimbball, *Chairman*, D. J. Wilkinson, *Secretary*" (II, 622-623).

In the spring of 1849 the church extended an invitation to Mr. John L. Girardeau. When his call was submitted to the Presbytery, approval was delayed, as the church had had no connection with the Presbytery since the time of the Revolutionary War. The records were unearthed, and it was discovered that by its charter, the wills of its legators, etc., it had been founded as a strictly Presbyterian Church. Mr. Girardeau was ordained. As the Elders who had been serving had not been "set apart" to the office, formalities were attended to, and James King, Hawkins King, and Alfred P. Walter were "ordained to the eldership" (II, 624-625).

Mr. Girardeau preached his farewell sermon in December 1853, and the Rev. William B. Corbett, M. D., replaced him. He is the last recorded minister to the church, some time before 1866 becoming minister to the Great Pee Dee church in Cheraw (II, 626, 640).

The church built 1819-1820 was also known, to a later generation, as the "Burnt Church." In 1869, the Presbyterian Church "in Adam's Run" was loaned to the Episcopalians for service.¹⁵ It is remembered as being in very bad condition when it was torn down and the present schoolhouse built on the site. Across the road, in the center of the village, stands the fine old house still remembered as "being built for the Presbyterian Parsonage."

The records which follow have been arranged in chronological order.

Dr: John Bee his Acct: of Moneys in his hands belonging to the Congregation of Will Town Meeting, with his Acct: of Disbursements.

1747. To Twenty Pounds Sterg: to Defray the
Minister's Passage at 7% pct: £155-0-
To £25 Sterling to be given the Widow of the
Revd: Mr: Ross 193-15-

¹⁵ Thomas *History*, p. 168.

¹⁶ Rev. John McLeod, minister to the church on Edisto Island. He married Martha, daughter of Paul Hamilton (d. 1738) and Martha Bower.

1748. August 15 To cash paid Mr: McCleod ¹⁶ for Supplying the Vacancy of Will Town to the 15th of June last	200—
July 15. To cash paid the Revd: Mr: Raye ¹⁷ for his trouble in Coming and Preaching two Sermons at Will Town	25—
Novr: 1. To cash paid the Widdow of the revd: Mr: Stewart for his Supplyg: the Will Town Con- gregation during its vacancy	200—
1748. June 1 to 1 years Int: due on the Two Ster- ling debts in the year 1747	34-17-6
	<hr/>
	£ 808:12:6
the whole due to the Church	1374:13:1
	<hr/>
	£2183: 5:7
Col. Bee's Subscription	50:—
	<hr/>
	£2233: 5:7
To Isaac Hayne & William Simmons ¹⁸	
Bond in full of the Ball[ance] Dated Feby 1, 1749	£1662: 2:-
Cr:	
1748 June 1 By cash lent to John Bagen on Bond. £145—	
d[itt]o to Paul Hamilton	95—
do: to Ann Crall [Croll]	81—
do: to Jas Gray	85—
do: to Jacob Donnom	70—
do: to Henry Livingston	37—
do: to George Ferguson	16-10-
By a Legacy left by Paul Hamilton	344—
d[itt]o left by Mr. Hendrick	30—
	<hr/>
	330[P]

¹⁷ John Rae, pastor of the Williamsburg church.

¹⁸ They were, necessarily, treasurers of the church funds, replacing John Bee. Isaac Hayne (d. Dec. 1751) was son of John Hayne and Mary Deane, and father of Col. Isaac Hayne, the martyr. His 4th wife, Mary, daughter of John Bee, Jr., survived him and married 2nd James Donnom. John Bee, Jr., married Susannah Simmons, sister of William. Bee's will was dated 25 Feb., 1748/9, proved 12 May, 1749. Wills, v. 6 p. 160, P. C.

By compound Int: on the above sums from the
first day of June 1741 to the 1st of June 1748.
Seven years

£ 857: 3:1

£1760:13:1

NB the Int. on the above Sums was paid Mr.
Stobo till the first of June 1741

By cash of Sundry Persons to purchase a Bill of
Exchange for a Minister's Passage 89—

By Robt: Oswell for Labour of Slaves Royal Spry's
Legacy 101:12:6

By do: of Robt: Oswell do: 100—

By cash received of Sundry Persons to Purchase a
Bill to be presented the Widow Ross 36—

By cash of Sundry Persons for the Revd: Mr:
Stewart & Mr: MCloud 39—

£ 365:12:6

By Coll: Bee's 2 Subscriptions for raising a sum of
money to be paid Mr. Ross & Discharge a Minis-
ter's Passage 45

By cash recvd of Mr Lowle do 12

£ 57:0—

£2183: 5:7

By Col. Bee's Subscription for the paying Mr.
Stewart & Mr. McLoad's Supplying Wiltown in
its vacancy

50—

£2233: 5:7

By One year & Eight months Int: £1424:13:1— £ 237: 8:11
Being the Ballance due to the Church from June
1st 1748 to February 1st 1749.

By Ball: due to Church as pr the above Settle-
ment

£1424:13:1

£1662: 2—

[Endorsed] Coll. Bee's acct: Settled. Ball: due to Ch'ch £1662:2—
Feb. 1, 1749/50

Monday, April 1st 1750

At a meeting of several [of] the Congregation of Willtown—the following proposals were made and agreed to

Thos. Sacheverell proposes and agrees to give unto the Congregation Twenty Acres of Land being the Westernmost End of Arnolds Old field (And known by that name)

Saml Lowle proposes and agrees to give unto the Congrega. likewise Twenty Acres of Land more—Adjoining the above Land Given by Mr. Sacheverell, being the East End of Land he purchased of Wallcutt.

Agreed as soon as the above Forty Acres is properly run out Then the writings relating to the said Land Shall be delivered to Mr. William Hayne¹⁹ who promises to deliver the said Writings unto Mr. Lamboll Who is to draw the Conveyances to Confirm the same to the Congregation.

John Splatt agrees to take the Six Negroes belonging to Willtown Congrega. And is to have them till the first day of February next And to find them in every individual thing for which he agrees to give Ten Barrells Rice and to deliver the said Rice at Peniss [Penny's] Creek Landing.²⁰

South Carolina,

WHEREAS William Stobo,²¹ Late of James Island In Barkley County Deceasd, In his Last Will . . . did give and bequeath unto John Bee and John Splatt Their Successors, [etc.] . . . the sum of One hundred and Fifty Pounds, Current Money of this Province, . . . for the only use and Maintainance of a Presbyterian Minister for the time being of the Presbyterian Congregation on the East side of Ponpon River, Known by the name of Will Town Congregation and in case of the Death of any of the above named Trustee or Trustees their Execrs: Or administrators Shall . . . appoint . . . other person or persons in his or their room . . . AND WHEREAS the said John Bee and John Splatt (Members of the

¹⁹ Died Nov. 26, 1764, son of John and Mary (Edings) Hayne.

²⁰ A creek on the east side of the South Edisto River, about halfway between Willtown and Pon Pon. Early grants of lands located there were to John Penny or Pinney, of Pon Pon, who died c. 1724.

²¹ Capt. William Stobo, son of Rev. Archibald, served in the Oglethorpe Expedition. He was living in April, 1743. J. H. Easterby, ed., *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1742-44*, (Columbia, 1954), pp. 363, 398. His will can not now be found, and only a part of the copied paragraph appears in the manuscripts.

said Congregation) are now Lately dead²² . . . the power becomes wholly Invested in me John Splatt Junr, Execr: to John Splatt, Senr, Surviving Trustee, and as I am inpowered by the testator . . . Do therefore . . . appoint my very good friends Mr. Ezekiel Branford, Mr. Jas: Stobo, and Mr. Richard Ash Junr, Members of the sd: Congregation to act conjunctly with me . . . IN WITNESS Whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand Seal this Twenty first day of June In the year of Our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty One.

JOHN SPLATT

Signed & Seal'd in Presence of [torn] Splatt

[Endorsed] Will Stobo's Legacy £150/0/0

Trustees: Messrs Ezkl Branford, James Stobo, John Splatt and Richard Ash, Junr.²³

Interest [illegible] to June 25th, 1751 £147/3/7

£297/3/7

AT WILTOWN MEETING HOUSE JUNE 2: 1752

The Committee appointed by the Last Presbytery at Charles Town mett and—Post preces Sederunt.²⁴ The Reverend The Moderr. Mr. Thomas Murray & Messrs John McLeod, Thomas Bell, Charles Lorimer, Ministers and Samuel Davidson Ruling Elder. The Committee then considered proper methods, for settling the affairs of the Congregation of Wiltown, that the Particular Trustees, Should Resign up the particular Trusts into the Hands of General Trustees then Nominated and Elected by them Vizt:

Ezekiel Branford, John Splatt, Thomas Sacheverell, Samuel Lowle, Edward Ferguson, James Stobo, Joseph Ash, Samuel Davidson, Richard Cochran Ash.²⁵

And it is appointed that Five of the Trustees Shall be a Quorum to Transact all affairs committed to their Trust, And the Particular Trustees agree as soon as they can to Resign their Particular Trusts into the Hands

²² Col. John Bee, Jr., was promoted to Brigadier July 17, 1742. Inventories, v. 67-A, p. 36, P.C. The will of John Splatt, Sr., is dated 16 Oct., 1749, proved 10 Nov., 1749. Wills, v. 6, p. 218, P.C.

²³ Richard Cochran Ash, son of Capt. Richard Ash, "Sr."

²⁴ After prayers they sat down.

²⁵ Of those named, John Splatt, Jr., was deceased. His will, dated 23 Sept., 1752, was proved Nov. 1752. Wills, v. 7, p. 29, P.C. Thomas Sacheverell, alone, was not named as a General Trustee in the Indenture. Joseph Ash was son of Capt. Richard Ash.

of the General Trustees above named, by Proper Instruments of writing. The Congregation are well Satisfied that the Said General Trustees, have Power, upon the Death of any of the Number upon their Leaving the Congregation or refusing the Congregation to act to Nominate other Trustees in their place, and to keep up the Number of Nine as above—

As the Piece of Land granted by Mr Pickum [Paycom?]²⁶ to the Congregation, for the Use of the Minister, for the time being, is Judg'd by the Congregation, not to answer the end fully, but to be inconvenient for Building the Mansion House & etc.

It is agreed that Mr James Stobo should without Loss of time, deal with Mr Pickum to alter the Writings, that the Conveyances may be Transferred as the Trustees Shall See most to the Advantage of the Congregation And further the Congregation impower the above named Trustees to make all Necessary Repairs in the Meeting House and Likewise the Building a Convenient Mansion House, for the Minister, and for the Last Purpose, to Look out a Convenient Tract of Land, and Purchase it upon the Cheapest Terms They can.

The Congregation agree that the Box Money be Managed, by the said General Trustees, untill such time, as there Shall be a Minister and Regular Church Session—

Thos: Murray: Modr: Thos: Bell: Cl: p: t:

[Endorsed] Duplicate of the Committies Trans. upon their meeting at Wiltown. June the 2d 1752

The Meeting of the trustees of the Parsonage This first of January 1753
Then Present: Richd Ash Senr, Ezekiel Branford, Samuel Davison, Samuel Lowle, Richd Cochrn: Ash, Edwd Ferguson, James Stobo.

Agreed on that a Subscription shall be Presented to the Congregation to Raise money for the Parsonage One half of the money to be Paid the first day of March next and the other half Payable the First Day of January next 1754.

²⁶ John Paycom owned several hundred acres at the Horse Shoe, just west of the Edisto River. He died before Jan. 1758, when Elizabeth, his niece and heir (daughter of Joseph Paycom), with her husband, Daniel Legare, Jr., sold lands there. Renunciations of Dower 1757-1761, Chas. County, in S. C. Archives Dept., Columbia. At the time of the meeting, the conveyance had obviously not been recorded or "Mr. Pickum" could not have "altered the writings." No record has been found, so perhaps, as it was not to be used for the purpose intended, the gift or "grant", was rescinded.

Sir

Inclosed is the Copy's of the Several Paragraphs of Wills you desired, as to Mrs Stoboes²⁷ I dont meet with in the office therefore it must not be returned into the Office

I am Your Humble Servant

Wm. Pinckney

The Charges are for searing [swearing?] & writing—£ 6.10—

Mr. Sacheverell

[Endorsed] Copy of paragraphs of Wills Bequeathing Legacys to Willtown Church & Congregation for the support of their Minister.

A Copy of a Paragraph of William Meechern's Will Proved and Recorded the 13th September 1733.²⁸

Item. I give and bequeath unto John Atcheson, James Stobo and . . . John Bee Junr all of Colleton County . . . the sum of one hundred pounds Current money of South Carolina . . . [to be put out] to Interest and all the clear gains thereof pay yearly and every year . . . unto [the] Minister or Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Will Town in Colleton County [for the time being] . . . of which . . . The Reverend Mr. Archibald Stobo is present Minister . . . to proper use and behoof of such Minister . . . and profits . . . which shall accrue during the Vacancy of a Minister shall go to the next Succeeding Minister and so from time to time for ever [provision for appointing other Trustees in case of death, etc.]

A Copy of a Paragraph of Paul Hamilton's Will²⁹ Proved and Recorded the 7th of March 1738.

²⁷ As Mrs. Stobo's donation was assumed to be a legacy, it appears that she died prior to the copying of the paragraphs.

²⁸ The will of William McMechen was dated 28 July, 1733, Wills, v. 3, p. 70, P.C. He signed "Mehen" with a superior "c" above the first "e". Executors named are "wife Ruth Mcmechen, George Ducat of Charles Town, and John Bee, Jr., of Pon Pon."

²⁹ The will of Paul Hamilton is undated. Of the officers of the church who do not appear elsewhere, *George Farley* died shortly before August, 1740. Howe *History*, I, 203. On Oct. 10, 1733, the cattle mark "GF" was registered for George-Fairly of St. Bartholomew. Misc. Records, p. 1006, P.C. *John Hayne* (m. Mary Edings), son of John Hayne and Mary Deane, left a will dated 24 March, 1737, recorded 10 Dec., 1739. Wills v. 4, p. 259 P. C. No will is recorded for *John Atchison*. *John Andrews* or *Andrew*, [Sr.], of St. Bartholomew's Parish, left a will dated 9 Jan., 1745/6, proved 22 Jan., 1745 [6]. Wills, v. 5, p. 477, P.C. *Thomas Buer* died intestate; inventory of "Thomas Bure" of St. Bartholomew, planter, as shown by Mary "Bure", widow, administratrix, was made 19 Mar., 1740. The

Item. I give and bequeath Forty three pounds Sterling to be paid a year after my decease into the hands of the Revd. Mr. Archibald Stobo Minister, Timothy Hendrick, John Bee Junr. George Farley, John Hayn, John Splatt, John Atchison, John Andrus [Andrews], Thomas Burr [Buer], John Mitchell, Jacob Denham [Donnom], Elders & Deacons of the Presbyterian Church at Will Town to them or the [illegible] Succeedors of them as they shall be Chosen and [illegible]ing to the Rules of the aforesaid Church to be disposed of [torn] and improved for the support of the aforesaid Presbyterian Congregation always preserving the principal intire.

A Copy of a Paragraph of Purchase Hendrick's Will ⁸⁰ Proved & Recorded the 12th of March 1739.

Imprimis. I give and bequeath the Sum of Thirty Pounds Current money to the Presbyterian Church at Will Town and likewise Twenty pounds Current money to the Presbyterian Church on the West Side of Pon Pon River to be improved at the discretion of the Officers of the said Churches.

A Copy of a Paragraph of Timothy Hendrick's Will Proved and Recorded the 22d November 1739.

Item. I give and Bequesth two Choice negroes to the Presbyterian Interest at Will Town for Ever, and it is my Will that my Executors shall keep them in their Possession their Life times and Pay the Incomes that they make yearly year by year for the use of the aforementioned Interest at Will Town.

[A Copy of a Paragraph of Will of William Stobo, deceased before July 25, 1743.]

[*First part missing*] such minister shall be qualified and admitted according to the Rules of the Presbyterian Church Government and discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, . . . the said principal Sum of One hundred and fifty Pounds shall be always kept or put to Interest yearly and continue as a Fund . . . and in case of the death of any of the above named Trustees . . . to appoint [others] . . . and so *toties quoties* ⁸¹ . . . only with this Limitation

appraisal, made by John Andrews, John Mitchell, Moses Martin, and Lawrence Sanders, gives the name "Buer". Inventories, v. 73, p. 21, P.C. No will is found for John Mitchell, son of George Mitchell [Sr.] of Pon Pon and Hannah, his wife, and brother of Joseph (d. 1745). Wills, v. 4, p. 12; Misc. Records, v. 69-A p. 217, P.C. Inventory of "John Mitchell, deceased" was made Mar. 13, 1751. Book 77-B, p. 657, P. C. Jacob Donom [sic.] left a will dated 25 Jan., 1745/6, proved 11 Feb., 1745 [6], which mentions "eldest sons James, William and John", Jacob, Daniel and Jonathan, and a daughter, Sarah. Wills. v. 5, p. 493, P. C.

⁸⁰ The wills of Purchase and Timothy Hendrick cannot now be found. She was widow of Henry Spry, who died before Dec. 1699, and mother of Royal. Her son-in-law, James Berry, claimed the legacy left in her will, "dated 24 Dec., 1737", to his wife, Purchase. Misc. Records v. 69-A, p. 107, P.C.

⁸¹ As often as. This phrase appears in the Indenture.

that all Trustees shall be Chosen out of and from the Members of the said Congregation.

A Copy of a Paragraph of William Ferguson's Will Proved & Recorded the 14th of March 1745.³²

I give and bequeath to Brigadier John Bee and my beloved son Edward Ferguson their Successors [etc.] the Sum of Fifty Pounds Current Money of this Province to be paid them as soon as possible after the ordination of the next Presbyterian Minister to the Congregation or Meeting of this place that is usually heretofore held at Will Town but is now Vacant . . . for the only use and purpose after mentioned that is to say that [they] shall place out the fifty pounds at Interest and pay over such Interest Money yearly for the support of a Presbyterian Minister for the time in this Congregation that is usually assembled at Will Town . . . and so all future Interest Money to the respective future Ministers for ever and the principal Sum of Fifty Pounds to be kept intire and remain as a fund for the said purpose for ever . . . said Ministers shall be such as are admitted and qualified according to the Rules and Articles of Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline . . . [provision as to replacement of Trustees].

A Copy of a Paragraph of Royal Spry's Will Proved & Recorded 16th January 1746.³³

Item. I give and bequeath unto my Trusty friends John Bee and Thomas Sacheverell their Successors [etc.] four slaves (vizt) one negroe Man named little London one negroe woman named Seallie one negroe boy named Jacob and his Sister Hannah and their issue only for & upon the Special Trust . . . (that is to say) [they] shall hire out or imploy the said Slaves & their issue & the profit arising from the Labour . . . shall pay over yearly . . . unto the Presbyterian Minister for the time being of the Presbyterian Congregation on the East Side of Pon Pon River and untill a Minister shall be settled in said Congregation or at any time hereafter when destitute of a Minister the profits shall be added to the funds that is now belonging to said Congregation (for the support of a Minister) and be improved with it . . . and the Said Slaves and their issue shall be kept and remain always as long as any of them shall be in being for said purpose . . . [provision for replacement of Trustees].

³² The will of William Ferguson of St. Paul's Parish, planter, was dated 1 Dec. 1745, Wills, v. 5, p. 516, P. C. The date of probation is "old style," actually 1746. The probation dates of Royal Spry's and George Mitchell's wills are also old style.

³³ The will of Royal Spry was dated 17 Dec. 1746.

A Copy of a Paragraph of George Mitchel's Will Proved & Recorded 5th January 1749.³⁴

Item. I give and bequeath to Ezekiel Brandford & Samuel Lowele their Successors [etc] the Sum of five hundred pounds Current money of this Province . . . to place out at Interest and pay over such Interest money yearly unto the Presbyterian Minister for the time being of the Congregation for the time being in Will Town . . . and so all future Interest money to the respective future Ministers for ever and the principal sum to be kept intire and remain as a fund for the said purpose for ever . . . each of the said Miniter shall be such as are qualified and admitted according to the Rules and Articles of Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline . . . [provision for replacement of Trustees].

Secretarys Office. All the foregoing Copys of Several Paragraphs of the Wills of Sundry Persons mentioned therein is Exact Copys from the Originals taken & Examined

Pr Wm Pinckney Depty Secty

³⁴ The will of George Mitchell of St. Bartholomew, Physician, was dated 3 Dec. 1749. He mentions relatives in North Britain only. Wills v. 6, p. 245, P.C. The connection, if any, with George Mitchell, Sr., of Pon Pon, is unknown.

(To be continued)

EXTRACTS FROM THE SCHIRMER DIARY, 1860 *

Jan. 7. Mr. Witte and Wife returned from the West after an absence of 3½ yrs.

19. *Earthquake.* This Evening about 7 O'C quite a severe shock was felt.

Feb. 4. Races ended today, they have had a pleasant week but they say it was poor Horses and poor races.

10. *Relics.* This morning's Courier gives an account of several pieces of Uniform such as Buttons a Bayonet and other things picked out of the new drain in Mazyck St.

11. *Balloon.* This afternoon a Mr. Lowe went up beautifully from the Citadel Green, he passed over the river and landed over at Milton's ferry.

20. *Balloon.* Mr. Lowe gave several persons an opportunity of taking a short trip upwards and pulled down again by a rope, the wind was too high for him to leave Terra Firma.

March 6. West Point Mills recently owned by T. B. Lucas was sold today and bought by a company. Report says Wm. Lebby, Wm. Aiken, Mr. Ravenel, Charles Lowndes, Chs. H. West and some others.

9. Accident this morning. A bridge at the head of Union Wharf fell in, on which was fifty eight barrls. of Molasses, nearly all was a total loss.

22. *Wreck.* Barque *Martha* owned by J. W. Caldwill from this port for Boston was struck by Lightning at sea on the 13th Inst. and took fire and burnt. Loaded with Cotton & Rice. .

24. *Enston's Will.*¹ The town all alive on this subject. He is thought to have left over a Million and if the will is carried out, the City will get in after years the most of it, Provided the Lawyers dont have the first pickings. . . .

24. *Fire.* This morning before day the Mount Pleasant Hotel was burnt to the Ground, all the Furniture and every thing in the house was destroyed. . . .

25. Dr. Bachman started this eveg on a short visit to Florida.

March 31. Weather this month ends very cold, we have had some White frost and Ice. It is feared the fruit is injured.

* The MS Diary of Jacob Sass Schirmer, merchant, contains a day-to-day record, in 9 volumes, of life in Charleston, 1826-1886. This Society.

¹ William Enston (1800-1860), Charleston philanthropist, among whose benefactions is the Enston Home for the aged.

BELEAGUERED CHARLESTON:
LETTERS FROM THE CITY, 1860-1864

Edited by

Martin Abbott
Oglethorpe University

and

Elmer L. Puryear
College of Charleston

(Continued from April)

Charleston March 16/63
"Monday"

Dr Liney

I dont think your move will prove to be the worst. You may be a little more crowded and may not get such a *variety* on table, but I'm satisfied you will get enough to eat and thats more than a great many can say now. You will see more people and things generally will be livelier and I'll try to see you all oftener. You had better accept Mr. Ws offer to wagon the furniture. It is as little as he can do, when making such a good riddance as his wife no doubt thinks.

I bought a large Music box sometime ago, all broken up, which I put into Hepps hands for repairs. When Completed it will be a fine instrument, and costing not one half its value. It plays 8 tunes, from the grave to the gay, and I am going to bring it up and leave it in your charge—

As ever

Charlie

Charleston April 8/63

I really expected to have paid you a visit this Sunday, but the present state of affairs forbids any such idea. You know my "services are indispensable to the safety of the city" (Mr Nathans says so)²⁰ and Beauregard cant think of my leaving until he does. So like our auction Sales my visit is "indefinitely postponed."

²⁰ M. H. Nathan, chief of the Charleston fire department.

The Yanks have come at last. The ball opened yesterday afternoon and the result has created great satisfaction. It was only the prelude to heavier work I think. The big fight will take place on James Isld where our preparations are complete for their destruction. Sam'l Y. has put out his notice again and some folks are Moving, but judging from the crowd of Females looking at the fight yesterday there are a great many to go yet. Strangers are flocking in from the country, some to fight and some to look on (the biggest crowd no doubt). Business is out [of] the question and the R Roads have more goods to carry out than they can take. I have not made my *will* yet but my arrangements in case the City falls are pretty complete. Dont think in such a case my trunk would be of much use, as my knapsack and the Valise and my own precious carcass will hold all my property that could be saved. I have enclosed you a slip cut from this Morning's paper which is a pretty good account of the brush yesterday. This morning there is a report in circulation that the Yankee Ironclad *Keokuk* (mentioned as having been disabled) is sunk off Morris' Island. I will send you a report every day if the fight is renewed and must beg you not to believe any reports you hear from those country people because they are very excitable and exceedingly gullible, but wait until you hear from me, and lastly dont get excited or Scared yourselves. With God and right on our side Charleston is safe.²¹

Hepp had not finished the watch yet. He like all Dutchmen are trifling and not to be relied on in some matters. The Music box has been in his hands about three months and I dont believe anything has been done to it of any consequence. He has had also my studs to fix the stones for *four* weeks. I pay him for his work and dont ask any favors in price and that makes me feel quite put out. Wilbur has concluded to give me \$1,200 pr annum. I wanted \$1,500- but compromised the matter. For certain reasons I dont feel bound to stay a year for that (\$1,200) but intend to accept any better offer and present the alternative to him—\$1,500 or *quits*— He has got quite confidential lately and may perhaps

²¹ On April 7, 1863, a Union naval expedition, consisting largely of ironclads, sought to fight its way past Ft. Sumter into the city harbor. The *Keokuk*, one of the ironclads, was damaged so severely that she sank the next day. *Charleston Daily Courier*, April 8, 1863; C. R. P. Rogers, "Du Pont's Attack at Charleston," R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-1887), IV, pp. 32-47.

want to surprise me with something extra, if the city doesn't fall and business is good.

As ever

Charlie

"Afternoon"

Charleston April 11/63

I want you *immediately* on receipt of this to send by *express* my coat and 2 pr Cassi [cassimere or khaki] pants which I sent some time ago, together with the Collars. I suppose you have overhauled the clothes and seen that any stitches were needed. If the Yanks dont renew the attack by Wednesday We will have a sale and I'm going to dispose of my superfluous worn out Clothing. Now dont disappoint me, but make up the parcel as soon as you get this and send down.

I sent you the papers this morning which will no doubt prove interesting as they contain later reports of affairs about these diggings [?]. I suppose the box sent on Thursday arrived safely.

Capt Swan has got his vessel in at Little River, above Georgetown. I saw him yesterday but he was in such a hurry that I did not ascertain if he had brought anything for me. Wouldn't surprise me if he hadn't. If I am wrong however, I will lose no time in sending your share.

As ever,

Charlie

Charleston July 20/63

My Dear little Sister

. . . I would have written when the fighting commenced but matters looked so desperate that I positively could not keep still long enough to write one line. Mr W— got excited and packed up all the books and papers. Last Monday as the Yanks hadn't taken Charleston yet I prevailed on him to keep the books so that I might write them up, at which pleasant job I have applied my entire time Since. Saturday night found the hardest and most tedious portion finished. In another week I will be through and if the Yanks still threaten our City I will be on what is vulgarly termed a *loaf*. Business is at a stand still. The retail stores are all more or less open. The people take things coolly and are generally more confident in our ability to hold the place, than they were

a week ago. Saturday witnessed a terrific fight on Morris' Island which lasted over twelve hours and resulted in a great victory to us at the cost though of several valuable officers *Cap't Ryan* of the Irish Vols among them. Today's Courier will accompany this containing a lengthy account from "Personne" which will no doubt prove more interesting than anything I could say everything is quiet below to-day. No renewal of the attack as yet.

I am still in the fire department which is as good a protection against Yankee bullets as anything I know of just now. No doubt many would avail themselves of its shelter did circumstances permit. We perform patrol duty at night, which comes round to each man's term once in eight days. There is a good deal of "life" about the City now. I presume that just here and in the vicinity there must be at least "50,000" live human beings with souls, not to say anything of the horses and Cats and dogs and other two and four footed animals without Souls or consciences.

Ma has determined to make this her base of operations for the present. Feels it to be her duty to stay until the last moment and nurse the poor wounded Soldiers and I know she will do her duty for "nursing" is both a mania and a virtue which she and Tophy possess in an eminent degree. Ma said that she told you in her letter that I did not want the shoes, at least I told her to say so. I appreciate your kindness but am supplied with shoe leather at present and again I would like to see before purchasing as country shoes although well made are generally poor fits and a pretty little foot like mine should suffer no disadvantage through a shoe. . . .

Your penitent brother

Charlie

[Sometime in July or Aug., 1863]

Dr Liney

I tried very hard to get the Cols watch but Hepp had to go out of town and I couldn't lay hands on him or the watch. I will send it up on Monday, in a box which will also contain a package for you enclosing \$88.—accounted for as follows, \$50 from Ma, \$25.50 Bal on Watch and chain, \$12.50 for 10 lbs Lard at 1.25—I paid Ma \$20, being 8 lbs Butter at \$2.50, all of which I hope will be satisfactory. I can sell all the Lard and butter you send down. Can get more for Lard now I think. I bought 150 lbs Butter last week @ 2.00 and sold it 15 minutes after at \$2.15. In the last three days I have made \$250, and a splendid gold curb

chain for which I have been offered \$100, but declined. Business dull. Nothing to do but run about and speculate and I have succeeded far beyond my expectations. I am trying to get out of town for a few days. If I succeed in getting a permit will possibly leave here next Saturday. Anyhow will notify you. Have sent several papers this week. Hope you rec'd them. No time to write any more. Kiss the children for me and tell them Uncle C is trying to find some shoes for them.

As ever

Charlie

Charleston August 6/63

Dr Liney

Disappointed again. Do you know that the confounded Wilmington Train never came along and I was compelled to do just what we did before. I was mad enough to bite a tenpenny nail in two. All my anticipations of a successful trip to Orangeburg blasted in a few hours. I have come to the conclusion that the next time that interesting place is included in my plans I will take Care to visit it first for more reliance can be placed on the connection at Kingville than at Florence. I have been told however since I came down that if the train going west arrives at the Latter place by four it will make the connection at the former. I arrived here 1 o'clock P.M. on Tuesday. Ten and a half hours consumed in travelling 102 miles is ridiculous. I was not aboard the train more than ten minutes before I was asleep. With one or two interruptions I slept until Five, when I found myself at Kingstree, "rather hungry. I immediately pitched in that bundle of Lunch and was surprised and sorry that it disappeared in such a short space of time. I then consulted my travelling companion and very piously took a nip. I was acquainted with the conductor Tom Choate and from him I learned that I was on the *Accommodation* train and a very accommodating train it was too. Stopped at every Station, pump, woodpile and turn in the road. I would advise all the mean people, scary people and people that never get in a hurry to patronise that train, for they will get their money's worth of riding without being hurried and running their limbs in danger. The only consolation I can find is derived from the fact that through old acquaintance the Conductor passed me without asking for the fare. That made up for my expenses at the Hotel. I did not get up to see Ma until last night but as usual she and the rest were at the Hospital. I went down this morning before breakfast and she threatened to pull my ears and Tophy's eyes were not big enough to see her nephew looking so fat. You know I have

not seen her for over four weeks. I told Ma about the bundle &c you sent and advised her to get everything ready for the box. The homespun is marked. The muslin dress is for Anna. Divide the Cake and Candy between her and Lizzie. The powder box and needles and french chalk, the shoes I dont know anything about. The hkf is for Susan. I hope she will appreciate it. I could not buy the hkfs and toothbrush for you as the store was closed. Please deliver the packages and bottles with the enclosed to the Col. Ma promised to come to the office this afternoon but did not keep her word. She may bring something else or a letter in the Morning. Wilbur has been as sour in fact more so since I returned and this afternoon he vented his anger in a way peculiarly characteristic of the man. I sent Alfred (his boy) up to Ma for the things and when that unfortunate Son of Ethiopia returned W thrashed him bruising his face and hand severely. The latter has to be carried in a sling. "*You dont belong to Charles,*" and such selfish and violent expressions were given with every stroke of the lash. The grand denouement which I have expected ever since I got \$226 ahead of him has at last occurred. Tonight he abruptly gave me notice that my services would be no longer needed at the end of this month. I asked him his reasons or for some explanation and he said that he had none to give only our *dispositions* (?) were not congenial. poor fellow. . . .

As ever

Charlie

Charleston Augt 22/63

Dr Liney

. . . This morning about 2 oclock the fire bells rung not for fire but for *Yankee shells*. The Scoundrels had managed to get a gun in position which with an overcharge of powder threw its deadly missiles in the City, three in Hayne St. and four or five in the western part of the city. One Store had a hole knocked in it which is the only damage or injury save tearing up the earth. The firing ceased after four oclock owing it is stated on good authority to the bursting of the said gun. The Surrender of Morris Isld and Fort Sumter was demanded by the Yanks by an *unsigned* paper, a refusal on our part to be resented with a bombardment. This is certainly one of the greatest outrages in Civilized warfare yet perpetrated by the Yanks, firing on Sleeping women and children. Noncombatants are rapidly leaving, yet there is not as much excitment as might be supposed. Fort Sumter has been badly injured but still can show some fight. We have settled down with the quiet determination to

fight out every brick in that Fortress and every street and corner in the City before Surrendering, notwithstanding 15 inch shells.²² There are no papers to day. On Monday I will send you them with full particulars.

I sent box by Exp[re]s today. Alcohol cost 7.50— $\frac{1}{4}$ quart and 50 c freight. Ma says Copperas Cost 1.50 and use her spool Cotton until she can get some. Tophy sends Yarn, knit 2 pr for herself rest for the Children. . . .

Yours,
Charlie

Charleston Augt 31st/63

Dear Liney

Yours 26 inst at hand, finding me still in the land of the living notwithstanding the proximity of the Yanks and their infernal shells which have had a damaging effect on business. We have however been favored with none since yesterday week. The rush of *Noncoms* [noncombatants] has dwindled down to the usual travelling number and a few weeks as quiet as the past will give metters a brighter aspect.

My *travelling* prospects are certainly dull. I have to sit up at the Engine-house once in every four nights and only two men from each Co can be absent at a time and then only for twenty four hours to take *their families out*. I have applied ten days ago but without success. During that time by some means *Six* to my certain knowledge have got away. I suppose their business was entirely a *family* affair. If my sweetheart was here I believe I would get married if it was only to get out of town.

. . . I will see that Ma lets you know her day of departure. Look out for the baggage on the Freight train. I got 1 lb Soda \$3—Ma will bring

²² On July 8 the Union forces, in effect, began a siege of Charleston that lasted until the end of the War. By the end of the summer they had established at least partial control over some of the sea islands east and south of the city, and from these vantage points systematically bombarded Ft. Sumter. At one point Q. A. Gillmore, the Federal commander, informed P. G. T. Beauregard, the Confederate commander, that unless Ft. Sumter and Morris Island were evacuated, Union guns would open against Charleston itself; upon the refusal of his demand Gillmore ordered a bombardment of the city by the "Swamp Angel," an eight-inch Parrott gun on a sandy marsh to west of Morris Island that was capable of throwing shells more than five miles. During the second night of firing the gun burst, having done little serious damage to Charleston. *Charleston Daily Courier*, July-September, 1863; G. T. Beauregard, "The Defense of Charleston," and Q. A. Gillmore, "The Army Before Charleston in 1863," Johnson and Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, IV, pp. 1-23 and pp. 52-71, respectively.

it up. Tea is worth \$10—that is good quality. Old Harry has promised faithfully to get the Straw this week. The old Scamp asked me to *buy* him every day during the last week of my stay at Wilburs. He says now “anything I mention he will do wid the *greatest* of pledgure—”

I sold the Lard 28½ lbs at \$½ [\$1.50]—43.15 and can sell all you send down and in fact anything else in the provision line. I will hold the funds subject to your order. Ma I suppose will bring up the kettles. The Col was to send down some potatoes but as usual thats the last of it. Dont say anything to him about my mentioning the fact.

Charlie

I have some paper like this for you

The postage on the Mercury is payable at Florence at the Rate of 60 cts per quarter, so dont let them *stick* you for any *more*.

Charleston 17 Sept 63

Dear Liney

Matters are very quiet here now. I suppose the Yanks are making heavy preparations for their next attack which will no doubt be fiercer than any we have yet sustained. Business is dull very few Non-Coms leaving town and half of those that went away are trying to get back—but Samuel is inexorable.²³ He knows his power and is determined to make all feel his authority. *Blockade running* now is as great a novelty and undertaking with females now as it is with the sterner sex.

As ever

Charlie

Charleston Nov 20/63

Dear Liney

Your favor 18th inst [received] this morning. Was very glad [to hear] from you. I gave the money and . . . to Ma who will attend to the hks. . . I suppose you know by this time that [the Federal guns] opened fire on the City Tuesday. I had not left the Mayors [office] . . . minutes yesterday when here came the shells. [Several were] thrown in the City last night, and [this morning] about 10 oclock here they came [again]. I am writing at my office now 12 [o'clock noon and] would not be sur-

²³ S. Y. Tupper, agent for the removal of civilians from Charleston.

prised if I [hear] some before I get through. St [Michael's] Steeple seems to be the mark for the [shells. All] fall in that range. None have fallen higher up than Market [Street or farther] west than Logan St. On Tuesday [several fell] in Queen St near the Bay, one at cor[n]er . . . and one at Wilburs Corner about . . . from the pavement. Good shot for . . . and I not liking to suffer with the guilty [abandoned] my office and left such bad company. . . . fortunately no one has [been killed] and people are beginning to think [that the shells] are not such dreadful killing [weapons] after all. This morning one dropped [in] the bunst [burnt] district near Clifford [Street. You] ought to have seen the people [running] to see the hole, *females* as well [as males.] In a few moments after another [one fell] at the Corner in front of Silcox's. . . . I was not . . . paces from it. The sand flew in [the eyes of all] yet nobody hurt. This like [so many] instances seems to be truly Providential. [Fort] Sumter was assaulted last night. [Some of the] Enemy's barges were successfully [captured] without any loss on our side. . . .

I wanted to go as far as Wilmington . . . and I thought I might make [a living] there. I have some Silver and [wanted] to make an adventure to Nassau. . . . I feel very disappointed but perhaps "everything [is] for the best." . . . I forgot to state that a shell struck . . . City Hall and another the Guard [House.] I suppose that has got *Macbeth's*²⁴ [temper] *up* as we say now—

Yours . . .

Charlie

Charleston Nov 23/63

Dr Liney

I wrote you on Saturday. . . . *Ma will leave here on Thursday at 1 oclock.* So you must send down for her. She says that she has bought 2 *Hkfs* and begs you not to forget to send for her. The Shells drop amongst us almost every day. None since yesterday morning before daylight. A negro woman was killed Saturday in Beaufain St near King—no other casualties. People are leaving the lower part of the City. Mrs Hoff is trying to get a house and I have moved my clothes uptown and have what few things remaining here ready to follow suit. I expect to move my desk to Mr Whittemores and will put a notice on my Door to that effect so people can find me. I have given up all hopes of leaving here for the present. If the Yanks would stop their nonsense for a week I

²⁴ Charles Macbeth, Mayor of Charleston, 1857-1863.

could get off. These are certainly trying times to a great many and I can sympathise with some but cant help laughing at others. Mrs Hoff is amongst the first for she has hardly anyone to assist her in her distress. I was looking yesterday and to day for a house and think I have put her on the track to get one. We must all hope for the best and not fold our arms despairingly. Dont forget Ma on Thursday—

In haste and a little on the move

Charlie

Charleston Dec 5/63

Dr Liney

I have moved up to Radcliffe St, not exactly because I was afraid of a few shells but because everybody else was. The City below Market Street is almost cleaned out. At times not a soul is to be seen in the streets in that section and I would not be surprised if a certain class of the population did not commit depredations on some of the fine residences at present unoccupied. Mrs Hoff is still in the Same place—cant find a house that suits in rent as she does not wish to pay over \$300 pr year, and you know with such a demand for places in the upper wards \$600 is about what every one asks. I really wish she would do something as I sleep up town now and my business is up town and I might as well save a long walk down town to meals.

You ought to see people rushing after Blockade goods at Edgerton and R in Bell [Bull] St—²⁵ Money seems plenty will [with] all. You can buy a pair of Stockings or a dozen. It is the intention of the Bee Co to allow consumers the chance but I am afraid most people will make it a matter of speculation. Everything is fair in war so yesterday after noon after they had closed to the public for the day I managed with the assistance of a friend to buy a Sack of Coffee at \$6 per pound, and 2 Calf skins at \$60 each. The former is worth here \$10 and the latter \$100. *Recollect this is a secret*—it must *not* be known or I will be shut out hereafter. I could not get anything else, but will make another visit on Monday. Cotton Cards at \$10 were all sold out the first day. I was

²⁵ Edgerton and Richards on December 3, 1863, opened a store commonly called "The Bee Company," although formally named the Importing and Exporting Company, which specialized in buying and selling goods that were smuggled through the Federal blockade. Charleston *Daily Courier*, December 4, 1863 and April 7, 1864. Papers of the William C. Bee and Company, 1863-1876, are in the manuscript collection of the South Carolina Historical Society.

disappointed for I would have bought several pair and made enough to get yours for nothing. White sugar \$3.50 cheap—all sold out. Stockings \$50 pr dozen—Cold. Calico yard wide \$6—Morning [*sic*] and Gray d[itt]o \$5.—Hkfs \$40 doz. Shoes will be open Monday. I have a great notion to buy about \$1,000 worth and send them to you to *sell* at a profit and go halves on what is made. What do you think of it? It is worth something for the trouble of going in the crowd. Harry Walker is there and I can get a large quantity of any one article. I intend to make all I can out of it and think of investing principally in shoes. If there is any particular article you want write soon and I will get it. Dont mention anything to those people about prices. Let them find out [the best] way they can. I am going to buy all I can and would not have it known that I speculated on them. Write soon and let me know if you want anything and if you can sell any let me know what you think best to buy.

We have not been shelled since Thursday morning. People are getting quite unconcerned about it and those up town dont hear them half the time. A shell dropped about Line St would *wake the town up some*. I would not exactly like to see it, but it would be very funny to look at the confusion such a thing would produce. Write soon—

As ever

Charlie

Charleston Decr 10/63

Dr Liney

The City was shelled again yesterday afternoon and last night nobody hurt. Two dropped near cor Broad and King and one struck Rose's House opp. Orange St. Mrs. Hoff has found a house in Alexander St and commenced moving to-day. I have not tried to leave town lately. Conniffe insists that I shall go up with him on Christmas. If I go will make it convenient to come home by way of Florence so I can give you a call. I dont say this for certain but will advise you further.

I have made no further purchases at the Blockade Sale. The Cotton Cards were all sold out the first day at \$10. Some parties got as many as 24 pr I am told. I have looked all around thinking to find a pair for sale amongst some of the small traders on King St but without success. The State has them for Sale by Agents in each District. Cant you find out something about them up your side? Aunt Jane says she is going to get a pair from the Agt here and I told her to get 2 for I would take one. I

will see her and Tophy more particular about it and get you a pr *if possible*. I know very well the State imported a quantity for it was advertised and if any one is entitled to a pr you are. I would not give \$60, nor even \$45 and if you are not in too great a hurry you will save about \$30.

I rec'd a letter from the Col to-day and he very modestly requests me to send him about \$100 worth of opium and morphine and *let him credit it on Mrs. Divvers Board account—if I am willing*—and then he goes to show me that he Manages to retail it out and clear about 25 *pr ct on the investment*. Isnt he a very nice considerate man? But I just reckon I know how to invest my money in a better way than that. I am satisfied Ma and you have squared up with him on Mas return and dont you see it is nothing more nor less than giving him the benefit of one months board for all in advance. I hope Ma will pay up on receipt of this if *over a months board is due* for I intend to send the Medicine and write the Col (very modestly and politely of course) that I do not pay "Mrs Divvers Board" nor "Mrs Rogers".

I think you had better leave Wingate immediately if not sooner. Mr H's offer of the House is too kind to be refused and I have no doubt that after you get settled it will be cheaper living and more to eat at that than what Wingate gives you. The advantages of the Change are very likely better known to you than me. You can raise poultry and pigs and you have been long enough in the country to learn how domestic affairs are managed with "country resources."

.....
As ever

Charlie

(To be continued)

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MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
AND COMMERCIAL DAILY ADVERTISER 1826

Compiled by INEZ H. GRIFFIN

Died on the 29th ult. on board the Schooner *Midas*, on her passage from St. Thomas to this place, William Lovis, a seaman. (Monday, January 9.)

Married at Unterwalden, by the Rev. Dietrich Schleichwelder, Mr. Peter Schilderknecht to Miss Christiana Schlechtwohl—Groomsman, Mr. Charles Hoefflichjeger—Bridesmaid, Miss Dorothea Nennzhaelzer. (Saturday Morning, January 14.)

Departed this life on the 13th of December, the Rev. Dr. S. F. Gallagher, a native of Ireland, aged 69 years.

Dr. Gallagher's great erudition, powers of mind, and eloquence when in the pulpit, are well known in many parts of the U. S. Those who have attended divine service at the Roman Catholic Church since his residence at this place, must acknowledge that society has sustained a great and irreparable loss. *Natchez Gazette*. (Saturday Morning, January 14.)

Obituary. Departed this life Sunday, 8th inst. at his residence on Wadmalaw Island, Capt. Francis Stiles Lightbourn, aged 52 years, 7 months—a native of Bermuda, formerly a navigator out of this port. He maintained the character of a good citizen, and a good friend to this country. His hospitable door was ever open to the unfortunate. He was an affectionate husband. (Thursday, January 19.)

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L

Died at his residence in Horry District, on Tuesday, the 10th inst., Bethel Durant, Esq., aged 50. (Thursday, January 19.)

Died on 7th inst. in his fortieth year, Charles L. Osborn, Esq. . . . His loss adds to the sorrow of his relatives, and especially of those of a venerable parent. (Monday, January 23.)

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The friends and acquaintances of Major Nathaniel Cudworth and family are invited to attend his funeral from Mrs. Gray's residence, No. 3 Pinckney Street, at half past 3 o'clock this afternoon, January 23. (Monday, January 23.)

Obituary. Departed this life on the 15th inst., at his plantation, at Haddrell's Point, in Christ Church Parish, Wm. Hort, Esq. at the advanced age of 77 years.

During the Revolution, he held the appointment of Commissary General of the Militia, which imposed on him the arduous task of providing for their subsistence when the country was over-run by the enemy, and provisions could not be obtained but by the influence he had in the neighborhood where his property lay or by recurring to the powers officially invested in him. The latter was never resorted to by him until he had exhausted his own resources, by giving up his own cattle and the produce of his plantation. He also filled the office of State Treasurer for many years. He was a zealous supporter of the Episcopal Church and friendly to all religious associations. (Wednesday, January 25.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Wm. Cudworth, and Family, are requested to attend the Funeral of the latter from her late residence, Butcher's Row, Cannonsborough, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, without further invitation. (Wednesday, January 25.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Capt. James M. Elford, Mrs. Elford and Jos. Enslow, also the Charleston Marine Port and St. Andrew's Societies are requested to attend the Funeral of the former, This Day, at 3 o'clock P. M. from his late residence on East Bay. (Friday, January 27.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Wm. Cudworth, and Family, also of Mr. John Cudworth, are invited to attend the funeral of the former from his late residence No. 39 Wall-street, this afternoon, at half past 3 o'clock without further invitation. (Tuesday, January 31.)

Departed this life on the 8th ult. Miss Mary Ann Fair, only daughter of the late John Fair, deceased in the Eleventh year of her age. (Friday, February 3.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Wm. Halsell are invited to attend her Funeral This Afternoon at 3 o'clock from her late residence in Reid-street, Charleston Neck, without further invitation. (Monday, February 6.)

Died Sunday last John Rholand (an Englishman) aged about 60 years. (Tuesday, February 7.)

Died at his residence on May River, S. C. on Friday the 3d inst. Jos. A. Scott, Esq. in the 45th year of his age. As a friend he was sincere, as a parent affectionate, and as a public officer he discharged the duties with ability and integrity. (Wednesday, February 8.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Michael Cornelius, are invited to attend his funeral, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock from his late residence No. 17 Elliott street. (Wednesday, February 8.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mr. Francis Kinloch, Esq. are invited to attend his funeral this Day at 11 o'clock at the house of his daughter Mrs. Keating Lewis Simons, in Orange street, without further invitation. (Thursday, February 9.)

Obit. Died in this City, on Saturday the 4th inst. of a dropsy, James S. Hopkins, Esq. of St. James, Goosecreek, Planter, in the 43rd year of his age. . . . a friend, a brother, husband and father—he died as he lived . . . his remains now reposing in the same cemetery to which but twelve months ago was committed the partner of his bosom. (Monday, February 13.)

Died on the 9th inst in Hamburg, S. C. Capt. Richard Lubbock. (Monday, February 13.)

The Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances of the late Josiah Smith and the Reverend Clergy are invited to attend his funeral, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, from the residence of his son Wm. S. Smith, No. 35 Laurens-street. (Monday, February 13.)

Obit. It has become my melancholy duty publically to record the irreparable loss of an estimable parent. Francis Kinloch was born in the year of 1756 and in Charleston, the Capital, at that time, of South Carolina. . . . At an early age of nine, he was placed at Eton School, England under the care and patronage of Mr. Boone. . . . arrived at the age of manhood he resided a few years at Geneva, was honored with esteem and kindness of Muller of Provost and of Bonnet. About this period, the clouds of dissention appeared between the mother country and the colonies. . . . the time had come at which every one interested in the Cause of America was called upon to decide. . . . My father did not hesitate one moment. Honored with the friendship and esteem of Lord North (whose son he had rescued from a watery grave) he might have remained in England, and with talent and acquirements like his, wealth

and power lay before him. . . he drew his sword and offered it to Moultrie. . . At the attack on the Savannah lines and other occasions, he cheerfully sealed with his blood his devotion to the honor and welfare of America. When the war was over, he took part in the councils of the Nation and later of his native state. . . Retiring soon after to the peaceful and delightful scenes of rural quiet, he passed his time teaching the young how to shoot and imparting as far as in him lay, happiness and comfort to all around him. When forced by circumstances of a painful nature to depart from such scenes, gave up without a sigh. . . my father died in this city, sustained in his last moments by the best medical skill that Charleston could afford. . . Frederick Kinloch, Charleston. Feb. 11, 1826. (Monday, February 13.)

Obit. The remains of the venerable Josiah Smith, were on Monday evening last committed to their native dust, after he had filled up nearly a century with usefulness and honor. Mr. Smith was born at Cainhoy in the parish of St. Thomas, on the 15th of September, 1731, where he continued during the residence of his father, the Rev. Josiah Smith, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, a period of 12 or 14 years and removed to Charleston and statedly resided there, chiefly engaged in mercantile pursuits until the day of his death on the 12th of February 1826.

He was an early, active and steady advocate of his country's rights, and was with the single exception of his friend (the late John Edwards) the first in the liberality of his loans to the government, then struggling with all the difficulties of an empty treasury. . . He was a member of the revolutionary legislature for some years. . . Shortly after the surrender of Charleston to the arms of Great Britain in 1780, he was notwithstanding the sanction of his parole, arrested and (with a band of Patriots, 58 in number headed by the venerable Gadsden) consigned to the loathsome confinement of a prison ship, and then exiled to St. Augustine for many months until relieved by an exchange of Prisoners and sent to Philadelphia. . . After the establishment of American Independence, Mr. Smith again entered into the pursuits of Commercial business until the year of 1790 when he was appointed Cashier of the Branch Bank of the U. S. in this city which office he held with fidelity and reputation until the termination of its charter in 1810. . . Was deacon in the Independent Church of this city for forty years as well as that of its treasurer. A patriarch in age and virtue, he has finished his honorable and exemplary course in midst of numerous and affectionate circle of descendents. . (Thursday, February 16.)

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS *

Hilton Head: A Sea Island Chronicle. By Virginia C. Holmgren (Hilton Head Island, S. C.: Hilton Head Island Publishing Company, 1959. Pp. 140. Illustrations. \$5.75.)

The young Barbadian sea captain William Hilton, sailing past the high bluff of an island one September day in 1663, recognized its bold outline as a landmark by which sailors could chart safe bearings. The 30,000-acre island has been known as Hilton Head since that time.

A white man's first recorded view of this island dates to St. Helena's Day in 1521 when a storm-tossed Spanish captain found refuge in the broad cape for which Hilton Head stands sentinel. After Hilton's explorations of the region he set down a description of the Port Royal area in favorable terms. However, the threats of the Spaniards and the Indians discouraged settlement and it was not until after the Yemassee War that Hilton Head had its first permanent settler—John Barnwell in 1717. The agent for the Irish Landgrave Bayley who owned most of the island, Alexander Trench, gave his name to the island for many years.

A new era for the coastal regions of three states was initiated on Hilton Head in 1790 when William Elliott raised what is generally acknowledged to be the first successful crop of long-staple cotton. Contrasting to the opulent days when cotton ruled were the violent events of the naval battle in Port Royal Sound in 1861 and the unhappy occupation of Hilton Head with its Fort Walker the headquarters for the Union Department of the Southeast.

The story of Hilton Head is comprehensively discussed in this valuable new history. For information on the early explorations Mrs. Holmgren has drawn on documents in the Archivos de las Indias and manuscripts in the National Library in Madrid. Her chapters on comparatively recent activities on the Island seem to have disqualified what might have been an only too readily available supply of reminiscences and legends. The volume is designed to hold particular interest for readers whose families have had associations with the Island as well as those discovering its sunny beaches for themselves.

Through the centuries Hilton Head has belonged successively to Indians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, English Colonists, American planters,

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

and warring Federal troops. As for its present status, we might paraphrase *South Pacific*: it now has the honor to be conquered by the American vacationist!

Elise Pinckney

Florida on Trial: 1593-1602. By Charles W. Arnade. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 100. Illustrations, index. \$1.00.)

From its discovery, Florida had been a problem to the Spanish empire. The southeastern part of what is now the United States, to which Spaniards particularly applied the name, was repulsive to them. But with the conquests of Mexico and Peru, the east coast of the big peninsula that still carries the name, and the shores of Georgia and, in part, of South Carolina, got an embarrassing nuisance value, for they flanked the great Spanish trade-route out of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. Settlements were attempted or proposed there before 1560, but at that time all had met with such bad results that it was decided to leave the country uncolonized. The Huguenot settlement of 1564, near the end of the Florida Straits, forced Spanish occupation. Menendez de Avilez, in the spirit of a crusader, butchered the heretics, and set up two presidios with supporting colonies and missions, one at St. Augustine, the other at Port Royal. By 1602 his works had dwindled to an unhappy little establishment at St. Augustine, and a few outlying villages and missions.

Mr. Arnade's pamphlet rehearses the evidence, in what was virtually a capital trial of the province. Inhabitants were required to show cause why the country should not be evacuated, or, if it were maintained, how its deplorable condition might be bettered. As much because St. Augustine had proved a refuge for Spaniards wrecked along the coast, as for any other reason, Florida was maintained.

To students of South Carolina history, the surmises raised by a relinquishment of the coast at that time, make interesting chances for romancing. It will also interest them to find the Bay of Cayagua (*Anglicé Kiawah*), that would become Charleston Harbor, highly spoken of for its accommodations, if not for its situation.

SAMUEL G. STONEY

Pelts and Palisades. The Story of Fur and the Rivalry for Pelts in Early America. By Nathaniel C. Hale. (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc. 1959. Pp. xi, 219. Index. \$4.75.)

In this readable monograph the author traces the history of furs from ancient times and emphasizes the importance of the Indian trader

in Colonial America. While all the early explorers were seeking gold and the imagined passage to the Far East, there were always a few discerning men who realized that the real gold of the Northern continent was on the backs of the beaver, the mink, the marten, the otter and the white-tailed deer. The first of these far-sighted entrepreneurs were Portuguese, Breton, and Basque fishermen who discovered that the natives of Newfoundland were willing to exchange rich pelts for the usual knives, hatchets, beads and calico. This discovery was followed by the inland explorations of the French, the Dutch and the English.

The author traces trade rivalries of these contending empire builders and demonstrates that it was ultimately the superiority of the English goods and prices which won most of the continent for the Anglo-Saxon.

Not the least important part of the story is the account, in sufficient detail, of the early explorations of Cabot, Verrazano, Cartier, Champlain, Frobisher, Gilbert and their like. The contribution of each is summarized fully enough to establish the rightful place of each, yet to show also how and why they failed. It is the author's thesis that had all of these adventurers realized the value of the fur trade and thought less of the mythical "passage" or the quest for gold, the history of the New World might have been quite different.

The roles of the fur trader and his native counterpart, the Indian hunter, are adequately presented, giving each his due. It was the trader, whether French, English or Dutch, who opened up the wilderness to later settlement by the pioneer white farmer. That the latter may have been an illegal squatter in many instances has never seemed to detract from his historic respectability. The author seems a little severe in his treatment of the French *courier de bois*, who was certainly no less romantic or more promiscuous than his English counterpart. Both added a blend of European culture to that of the red man and, in turn, acquired traits from his own, which they transmitted to their friends and relatives in the white settlements.

From the viewpoint of South Carolina, it is a little disappointing that less than two pages, and those in the final chapter, are devoted to the remarkable contribution of Henry Woodward and his fellow Carolinians. Mr. Hale does acknowledge that "the Carolina traders had pushed the English frontier farther west, by hundreds of miles, than any other colonials would do during the next half century." It is also unfortunate that the author appears to have missed a substantial number of sources on the trade in the deep South, especially the monumental *Southern Frontier* by Verner W. Crane. Perhaps, however, the

especial interest of the Carolinians in deer skins rather than ornamental furs, may account for this puzzling omission; or could it be because the Carolinians virtually ran the Virginia traders out of business?

Pelts and Palisades is a readable book which will hold the interest of anyone who loves his country's past. A lack of footnotes or end-notes is to be regretted, but there is a reasonably full bibliography with the exception above noted.

CHAPMAN J. MILLING

Descendants of the South Carolina branch of the Folger family will be interested in knowing that "Folger Bible Records and Cemetery Inscriptions," compiled by Walter Weston Folger, appeared in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, CXIV (1960), January. The tombstone inscriptions included those at Easley, Spartanburg, and Central.

OUR SOCIETY

From March 1959-March 1960 the following new members have been added to the Society's rolls:

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REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Mrs. William Demaline, 43 Taylor Road, Conshohocken, Penn., desires information about her ancestress Jane Harper, who lived on the headwaters of Sandy River, six miles west of Chester Courthouse, S. C. She married Brig. Gen. Edward Lacey in 1766.

C. M. D. Thomas, Box 98, Winnabow, N. C., requests information about the parents and ancestry of his great-grandmother, Jane Elizabeth Hemingway (1828-1896), who was married in All Saints Parish, Georgetown.

Mrs. Joseph C. Mobley, 2378 N. Strathmore Circle, Memphis 12, Tenn., is searching for the ancestry of Anthony Mathewes (b. 1661; d. 1735, Charleston), whose son Benjamin married Anne Holmes, daughter of Isaac Holmes and Eliza Peronneau. Was Anthony any connection of Anthony Mathewes (d. c. 1681) in Isle of Wight, Va., court records? She would like to correspond with other descendants.

Mrs. Herbert Ingram, Coleman, Ga., wishes data on parents and wife of Ichabod Hall of Edgefield, who with his family settled in Lee County, Ga., c. 1833 and later moved to Baker County. Issue: Howell Hall (1824-1901), John H. Hall (1827-1911), Henry Holcombe Hall (1830-1915), and other sons and daughters.

Mrs. James Leland Bolt, 1628 S. E. 51 Ave., Portland 15, Oregon, desires information on place and date of birth, and name of parents, of Mary Ann Pinckney, who married Anthony Griffin c. 1770. In 1790 they were living in Laurens County, where he died in 1806; Mary Ann was still residing there in 1814.

Carl C. Hooks, 1204 Cleveland Ave., Savannah, Ga., wishes information on the following, all born in S. C.: Luke R. Rodgers, b. 1812, and

his half-sister Elizabeth (Betsey) Rodgers Parrish, b. 1827; Abraham F. Hurt, b. c. 1824, and his wife Jane (Padgett?), b. c. 1808; John Webb, b. 1756, and his wife Jane (Salter?), b. 1790.

Mrs. Vincent Applegate, 153 Division Street, Keyport, N. J., desires information on ancestry of Steven Van Brackle, who married Elizabeth Himes of S. C. c. 1725. They had three children: Steven, Samuel, and Dolly. After Steven's death his wife and children moved to Holmedel, N. J., leaving an adopted son with the Himes family.

J. V. Moffitt, Jr., 119 W. 1st Ave., Lexington, N. C., wishes to know the location of the grave of Gov. James Moore (1640-1706), and of his wife Margaret, d. 1720.

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